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AN APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH NATION

IN BEHALF OF

Norway.

BY A. ANDERSEN FELDBORG.

Hail, brave Norwegian! son of freedom, hail!
Oh! may your cause, your sacred cause prevail;
And may no hand of rude oppressive power,
Crush the bright offspring of this anxious hour.

NORWAY, a Poem, by CHARLOTTE WARDLE.

1814.

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TO THE

Right Honorable Lord Grenville, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

MUCH as the high-spirited and gallant people of Norway may have had cause to lament the inauspicious result of their application to the Government of this country, that circumstance has now, I am almost tempted to say, been converted into a subject of congratulation and triumph. It has placed the cause of Norway on the highest ground imaginable. For it is notorious, that Sweden trusted more to the effects of an English blockade than to any other means which she could devise or employ for the subjugation of Norway. In the exultation of their hearts, the enemies of that unoffending country exclaimed: "The Norwegians cannot long resist a regular blockade of their ports." Yet the Norwegians still resist, and will, I am satisfied, continue to resist, until their national rights shall be fully acknowledged.

In presuming, my Lord, to account for the effects, which have proved to be directly the reverse of the consequences so fondly and so confidently anticipated by Sweden from the declared hostility of the British Government towards Norway, I speak, I am persuaded, the universal sentiment of the British and Norwegian nations, when I ascribe to your Lordship, in particular, the revival of those pleasing prospects, which must have illumined the minds and gladdened the hearts of the brave Norwegians, when they besought England to interpose her good offices, with a view to relieve them from the dreadful alternative with which their dear and suffering country was and is still menaced.

Your Lordship's transcendent efforts in behalf of Norway supplied Ministers with views which had probably not occurred to them, or else been sedulously kept from their notice by those who would fain desire, that the Norway question should only be exhibited in those lights which would prove most agreeable to their own interested speculations; while the people of England have derived from her first statesman that instruction and guidance, which can never be rejected with impunity to make way for new-fangled doctrines of utility, and a remorseless substitution of arbitrary principles.

My Lord, connected as I am with Norway, it will ever be one of the proudest and most gratifying incidents of my life, that I have been honored with an opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with your Lordship's sentiments and feelings relative to the glorious struggle in which the people of that country are now engaged. For I have in consequence been impressed with the unchangeable conviction, that England will eventually prove the avenger of Norway, and the assertor of her independence.

The cause of Norway is intimately connected with the claims and sufferings of other countries, for which the voice of England will be raised in the approaching discussions. The Norwegians may therefore be encouraged to indulge the hope, that deference will be shown to the feelings and impressions which the people of England have so unequivocally and unanimously displayed in their behalf. For, if there never was a period when the character of England stood so high on the continent of Europe as at present; and if there never was a more general disposition to look up to her with gratitude and respect, England cannot be supposed to be indifferent to the value and power of that character. On the contrary, she will duly appreciate the various and awful trusts committed to her hands by the ALMIGHTY, and she will feel, that in this "high and palmy state" of the national character, she is more especially called upon to stand forward as the disinterested advocate of freedom and justice.

In the consummation of that great and glorious purpose, you will, my Lord, have performed a most distinguished part; while, in immediate regard to the subject of this address, your Lordship's name will be embalmed in the grateful remembrance of a people, who cannot and will not survive the degradation of their country.

I have the honor to be,

With the most sincere respect

and unfeigned gratitude,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

London, 12 July, 1814.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

MANY questions of a similar nature, arising out of the system of tyranny recently put down, have been submitted to the people of England ; and on every such occasion, the feelings and sentiments of Englishmen have been expressed in a manner becoming the inhabitants of a country, which was but lately the last stay of the civilised world. It is therefore but a natural effect of a natural cause, that this nation should in the case of Norway display the same steady adherence to those old, established, and true, principles of national law and public liberty, by which England has risen to her greatness and glory. The Norway question comes immediately home to the business and bosoms of Englishmen, not excepting those who differ from the majority of the nation on this most important and most distressing subject. For the cause of Norway is the cause of freedom, public and private ; and even those who from the cogency of particular circumstances may deem it expedient to oppose the claims of Norway, must in charity be supposed to do so from motives, which, if they could be investigated, would, I trust, not appear quite so reprehensible, as we may be led to imagine from a superficial and partial view of their conduct.

If we reflect for a moment on the manner in which the appeal made to this country by Norway has been publicly espoused or opposed, we shall perhaps be inclined to doubt to whom Norway ought to hold herself under the greatest obligation; whether to her friends or to her enemies. For, however anxious I may be, in common with every sincere friend to national independence and

civil liberty, to do justice to the noble endeavours made in behalf of Norway by such as would from principle alone be induced to advocate her cause; I am firmly persuaded, that these men themselves will be the first to rejoice in ascribing the deliverance of Norway to that acknowledgment of her rights, which, though it may not be extorted from her enemies, at least for the moment, is most earnestly recommended by the impotence and awkwardness of the resistance offered to the claims of Norway.

It would be an insult to the understandings and feelings of the people of England, to suppose, for an instant, that the independence of Norway is not conformable to the general sentiment and wish of the nation. For, if the late war with France were, as it has been termed, *the people's own war*,¹ it behoves the people to see that war finished in their own way. The people of England therefore rightly consider the attack on Norway as a perpetuation of that system of horror, in the annihilation of which English blood and treasure have been expended with a prodigality which must entitle their country to the admiration and gratitude of the latest generations. The attempt to subjugate Norway is viewed in the light of a moral attack on England. To their eternal honor, the people of this country have therefore expressed their anxiety to defeat it with an energy, zeal, and unanimity, from which the world at large will form better hopes of lasting concord than from the protestations of perfured princes, and the dear-bought efforts of mercenary armies.

Sidney, that glorious martyr to English freedom, in his work on government, proves the liberty of the people to be the gift of God and nature. In the assertion of that doctrine he died.

Now, the Norwegians will be found to have framed their opposition to the pretensions of Sweden, on the principles laid down by the writer referred to, and others who held similar opinions: Hence it is to be inferred, that the Norwegians, well knowing the character of the enemy they have to contend with, have thrown away the scabbard, the moment they drew the sword. Nor did a

¹ "When the French first made war upon us, with their revolutionary principles and their revolutionary hostility, the people spoke for themselves, in support of the King and Constitution; and it was their public declarations and associations that gave a tone to the exertions of Government, which has been our main support through this long warfare. The contest seems now to be reduced to one single object, "the overthrow of the odious tyrant himself. Let the people now show themselves, to put a finishing hand to their own war."—A public Address, agreed to at a Meeting of Gentlemen at the Thatched-House Tavern, St. James's Street, Saturday, 12th of February, 1814.

nation ever draw the sword more justly and nobly, or from motives more imperiously urgent.

Sweden conceived it would be for her interest to annex the ancient and free kingdom of Norway to her dominions ; and being well aware, that her object could not be effected by herself alone, she, with more policy than probity, took advantage of the necessities of Russia and England, and stipulated Norway with sundry other territorial, commercial, and pecuniary advantages, as the price of her co-operation in the great and glorious work of European independence. But before she received the perfect sanction of Russia, and the conditional acquiescence of England, in her arbitrary views on Norway, she commenced against that country a system of warfare, the most abominable of all hostile operations ; she inflicted on the peaceable and unoffending people of Norway, what Mr. Burke described as the greatest of all possible calamities ; as a calamity so dreadful, that every humane mind shuddered and turned away from its contemplation—she attempted to starve a whole nation. This she did in a state of profound peace with the nation, to which the Norwegians were attached by a common government.

Let it not however be supposed, that the court of Sweden openly committed such an act of aggravated injustice and cruelty to the Norwegians. No : if it had, the proverbial ingenuity of that court might have been called in question. Its notorious docility in adopting the diplomatic examples and precepts of France might have been doubted ; and room would have been afforded for a suspicion of its sincerity in duly appreciating the inestimable benefit conferred by Bonaparte on Sweden, in parting with one of his generals, solely for the purpose of diffusing the blessings of the Napoleon system throughout the wretched regions of the North. Sweden, therefore, by simply borrowing a leaf out of Bonaparte's Edition of the "Law of Nations," put her cruel design against Norway into execution with as great facility, as if she had been in an open state of war with that country. At a moment when, owing to her unrestrained intercourse with Great Britain and Russia, Sweden abounded with grain of her own and foreign produce, she adopted that most ingenious of Bonaparte's measures, which he termed a *municipal regulation*, and attached the heaviest penalties to the exportation of corn of any kind. Thus all the Danish grain, which came into Sweden either by British capture or other sinister accidents, was laid hold of by Sweden, and accumulated for the purpose of enabling her at some future time, to render the distress of the Norwegians subservient to her attempts on the honor and welfare of their country.

Nor was this all. The trade with England is well known to be

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the main pillar of the prosperity of Norway. To shake this to its foundation, therefore, became an essential part of the policy of Sweden towards Norway. For as long as the produce of Norway found its way into England, notwithstanding the war with Denmark, Sweden could not hope for the realisation of her projects against Norway. She accordingly found means by degrees to impose such restrictions on Norwegian commerce, as rendered this trade in the first instance of exceedingly little value to Norway, and eventually beneficial to England, only, in consequence of which all trade between this country and Norway naturally ceased.¹

Having thus aimed two vital blows, at which she fondly expected Norway would quiver in her remotest limb, Sweden commenced a series of the most desperate attacks on the moral existence of the People of Norway; alternately employing all those varied means, which might according to circumstances appear most conducive to the accomplishment of the subjugation of Norway; an object, which has been so long and so ardently wished for by Swedish Politicians.

It is however difficult to deceive a free people respecting its true interest. Of this important position, the people of Norway have furnished an additional illustration. Let it not however be supposed, that the resistance offered by Norway to Sweden, is at all to be referred to what is vulgarly termed interest. No, the real cause of that opposition is to be found in the determination of the Norwegians not to expose themselves to the contempt of mankind, and more particularly to the execration of their own posterity. Let Paley be heard in behalf of the Norwegians. "The true reason," he observes,² "why mankind hold in detestation the memory of those who have sold their liberty to a tyrant, is, that together with their own, they sold commonly, or endangered, the liberty of others; which certainly they had no right to dispose of."

¹ Lest the statement of this fact should appear to convey the slightest reflection on certain right honorable gentlemen, at the head of commercial affairs, it will be necessary to observe, that they were about the same time seized with a Canadian mania, which greatly facilitated the design of Sweden against Norway. They felt induced to think that the woodtrade of Norway might be advantageously superseded by importations from Canada. It is much to be hoped that their flattering expectations may be fully answered to the benefit of thousands of English families, who suffered most grievously by the extinction of the trade with Norway.

² The principles of moral and political philosophy by William Paley M. A. Arch Deacon of Carlisle; quarto, second edition, London, 1786, page 77.

The Norwegians, as Sir James Mackintosh truly and beautifully remarks, have never worn the scar of foreign bonds and fetters; and there is indeed something particularly manly, generous, and noble in their present resistance: it is most worthy of their national character, and entitled to the sympathy and active interposition of every man, who dares to give the proper definition to right and wrong. It is held justifiable to fight an enemy with his own weapons. Now, if Norway had had recourse to stratagem in retaliation for all the artifices, frauds, insults and injuries committed by Sweden, she might, by feigning submission have prepared a dreadful retribution. The execution of such a design might have been perfectly practicable, from the nature of the country and the means of annoyance possessed by the inhabitants, and of which Sweden with all her art and caution will never be able to deprive them. But the revival of the Sicilian Vespers, on a remoter stage of action, ill agrees with the feelings and rules of conduct, by which the Norwegians are actuated. They rightly deemed it beneath their dignity to pursue the attainment of an object, however good, by the employment of foul means. Such was their well-founded confidence in the protection of the Almighty, in the justice of their cause, in the means which they possess to defend that cause, and in that attention, which will sooner or later be paid to their claims by those who are now, in the technical phrase, the arbiters of the destinies of nations, that they would not, by any act of ambiguous character, sully as glorious a cause, as was ever committed to the care of any nation.

With deference to certain politicians, who describe the annexation of Norway to Sweden as the greatest good, that could by possibility happen to the former country, and of which the Norwegians neither can be nor ought to be the judges, for according to the proposition of the noble President¹ of His Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, a people has in no case a right to resist the transfer of their allegiance; my first business will be to submit, that the resistance of the Norwegians is founded in the law of nations, or which will perhaps be a more eligible term, the law of nature. For I am unwilling to subscribe to Lord Harrowby's doctrine, that treaties are to be considered as the practical expositions of the law of nations. Sure I am, at least, that very few treaties, if any, concluded for a considerable time past, can be characterized by any other terms than those made use of by

¹ The History of Charles XII. of Sweden, London edition, 1793, page 18.

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No. 1

Voltaire: "a submission to necessity, till the stronger shall be able to crush the weaker."

The people of Norway, though, in terms, dependent on the King of Denmark, have, to all intents and purposes, been free People; and in no instance more strikingly so, than in their relations with England. Of this, indeed, their enemies seem to be so fully aware, that only few of them, who may chance to be gifted with a superior share of hardihood, venture to question the natural right now exercised by the Norwegians. But even these no sooner find themselves on this most tender ground, than they perceive how untenable it is, and in various, though certainly not equally graceful, ways admit, that the Norwegian nation is under an obligation to preserve itself, has a right to every thing lawful, necessary for its preservation; ought to avoid every thing that might occasion its destruction; has a right to secure itself from every threatening danger; that it ought to endeavour to promote its own perfection, and that of the state; and that finally the Norwegians, with a view to the preservation of their country, have a right to every thing without which they cannot obtain the perfection of the members and of the state, or prevent and repel whatever is contrary to this double perfection.²

But Norway has been conquered in Holstein,³ say the diplomatic advocates of the Crown Prince of Sweden, in a tone of great exultation and triumph. The inhabitants of the former country ought therefore to comply with the last order of their former sovereign, by which he transfers them to the dominion of Sweden.

I could wish to avoid giving any direct reply to such arguments (if arguments they can be called) as may be advanced against the Norwegians by the desperate, and, I trust, the few members of that political band, in which His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden formerly enacted so capital a part. But since it cannot be dissembled that so great deference has been paid to the opinions of those worthies, that their sentiments have even been promulgated in the most august assemblies in this country by some unaccountably condescending individuals, I am reluctantly obliged to pay some sort of attention to the representations or rather misrepresentations of the Swedish government or its agents.

The cession of Norway, say these ingenious and infallible expounders of the law of nations, is no novelty at all. Unfortunately

¹ The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden, London Edition, 1793, page 18.

² Vattel's Law of Nations, Book I. ch. 11. § 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

³ Réflexions sur l'Etat actuel de la Norvege, p. 2.

for the establishment of this position, Norway happens to be no German fief, no sugar island, where slaves bear a proportion to freemen as 20 to 1, no palsied limb of a body politic; Norway is an integrally independent state, in every view most fully entitled to resist the new Master to whom the King of Denmark has been obliged by heart-rending necessity to cede his rights. Indeed, the real character of the opposition offered by the Norwegians to the views of Sweden, appears now to be so generally and so properly understood, that a correct informant need scarcely be under the necessity of intruding into the petty circle within which the Crown Prince of Sweden moves.

It is really very amusing to notice the whimsical embarrassments into which men who undertake to defend a bad cause must of necessity fall. Thus while the Bernadotte party contend that the Norwegians ought to yield implicit, passive obedience to the King of Denmark, in delivering up their country to a natural, if not a mortal, enemy, they in the same breath make a great parade of the happiness which the Norwegians will experience in being relieved from the dominion of a Monarch, who is above law.

Whatever the Danish government may be, in theory, the illustrious individual, in whom that high and awful trust is vested, stands in no need of vindication, relative to its practice. Bernadotte's dependents, therefore, as well as his friends and admirers, if he has any, are exceedingly welcome to make the most of their disquisitions on the Danish government.

But since these devout followers of those doctrines in politics, which I now scarcely know whether to style new-fangled or obsolete, and to which they seem to cling with a fondness, prophetic, I trust, of their fate, appear to place considerable value on loyalty, when the exercise of that distinguished virtue may conduce to the realization of their own treacherous and treasonable views, it will be necessary to inquire, whether the Norwegians have transgressed the duties of loyalty.

The conduct of the Norwegians is described by a French, or perhaps a Scandinavian, advocate of Bernadotte, as "une vraie calamité pour le monde civilisé, si cette manière d'agir devenait générale."¹ It is needless to observe how peculiarly ungracious the expression of such sentiments must appear in those who have been in the habit of cherishing diametrically opposite opinions long after their friend, their patron, and in fact their creator, Bernadotte, has been turned out of Vienna for expressing and acting upon notions, which he now as strongly reprobates, as if, à la

¹ Réflexions, &c. page 3.

Buonaparte, he were a descendant of Charlemagne. Would Bernadotte himself, had he always observed the duties of loyalty, in all probability, have been what he now is? Not that I mean to condemn in unqualified terms the address with which this commander has proved to be the architect of his own fortune; or to construe his deviation from the path of loyalty into an apology for the disobedience of which, in his opinion, the Norwegians are now guilty. The loyalty of the Norwegians and that of Frenchmen, whether they shout *Vive l'Empereur* or *Vive le Roi*, can, I am satisfied, bear no comparison. All that I mean to impress is, that Bernadotte and his associates should be exceedingly cautious and choice in such terms as they may apply to those who happen to differ from them on political subjects. For though he now enjoys the singular good-fortune of being styled good brother, cousin, and friend, by legitimate Sovereigns, he ought to recollect, that, as poor Ophelia observes: "We know what we are, but we know not, what we may be." The blood of Vasa does not flow in his veins.

On the ground of loyalty alone, abstracted from all other considerations, I am, however, ready to maintain, and shall, I trust, have no difficulty in proving, that the Norwegians are most perfectly correct in the line of conduct which they pursue towards Sweden.

About 450 years have now elapsed, since the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway were united under one sovereign, on terms and under circumstances, which ever have, and ever must, have rendered those kingdoms two distinct and independent states. In the course of that long period, it is too much to presume on the character of human nature, and it would argue too gross ignorance of human transactions, especially in our own age, to suppose that the Norwegians may not have had opportunities of withdrawing from the connexion with Denmark, if such a measure had appeared proper and desirable. We may safely take it for granted, that if, as the Bernadotte party roundly assert, the Kingdom of Norway has been treated like a colony by the Danish Government, all the particulars of such policy have been exhibited to the Norwegians, in the strongest and most hideous colors, that could be furnished by the Swedish Government and its agents. It is well known, on the authority of Mr. Canning, that circumstances have arisen, in which even England regarded the separation of Norway from Denmark as an expedient measure. Indeed that right honorable Gentleman, while Secretary for foreign affairs, had an excellent opportunity of ascertaining the real sentiments of the people of Norway towards the Danish Government, and I believe the result of his inquiries proved to be, (no doubt to his very great sur-

prize and dismay), that there existed something like Spartan virtue among the Norwegians, and that their national honor was yet unendangered by meanness and degeneracy. It were much to be wished, that the Ex-Secretary, instead of whining professions of his readiness to pay any price in order to get rid of the obligation imposed on England by the Swedish Treaty, would have introduced into his speech on the blockade of Norway some details of the manner in which his official overtures to Norway in 1809, had been rejected the moment they were received. He might then, perhaps, I am almost persuaded to hope, have been relieved from his personal sufferings, and probably rescued his free, noble, and generous country, from the horrid and degrading obligation, by which she is coerced, as Sir Philip Francis truly observes, "not to run a risque, not to fight a battle, not to win a laurel drenched in blood, but to annihilate the entire population of an innocent unoffending kingdom; women and children, sickness and age, must all alike perish under the sweeping desolation of famine, inflicted by the magnanimity of England, unless they submit to a foreign yoke, and consent to be slaves for ever."

To give an idea of the loyalty prevalent among the Norwegians, I shall quote the following passage. "The immortal Christian the fourth of Denmark, undertook nearly fifty journeys into Norway, and, there can be no doubt, gave birth to those enthusiastic, romantic, and religious feelings of love, devotion and veneration, still cherished among the peasantry towards the bare name of King. This fact, so honorable, cheering, and consoling, to human nature, and more particularly creditable to the people in question, affords the most exquisite illustration of the public virtues of Christian the fourth, who has justly been styled the idol of Danish story, the glory of the Danish name, and the delight of human kind. The Kings of Europe called him their father; Elizabeth of England was his friend, and Algernon Sidney would have been his best subject."²

Now the present King of Denmark is a lineal descendant of Christian the Fourth; and if ever a king possessed an indisputable claim to the respect and sympathy of his subjects, in every circumstance of life, Frederick the Sixth may prefer that title.

To prove this, we need only furnish a sketch of the present state of his country; and it will, I am persuaded, clearly appear, that the Norwegians are at this moment acting in strict consonance to the dictates of loyalty; for they have an undoubted right,

¹ Letter to Earl Grey, p. 76.

² Boydell's Scenery of Norway, No. 14.

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to presume, that that power, which has been the systematic, unceasing, and unrelenting enemy of their king, never can and never will, in the nature of things, take that interest in their happiness and prosperity, to which, in the enjoyment of national independence, they have been accustomed for centuries.

Whatever may be the nature and extent of that "haine que les Danois depuis des siècles nourrissont contre leurs voisins," I think it may be affirmed, that the hatred which the Swedes have for centuries nourished against their neighbours cannot be deemed inferior. In regard to its effects, it certainly has proved infinitely superior. Let us see in what manner Sweden has preserved the relations of good neighbourhood with Denmark, reverting merely to the year 1807.

In that year the government of this country, for some reason or other, perhaps only best known to the enemies of both states, thought proper to inflict a mortal blow on the political existence of Denmark. Whence the idea of that memorable measure originated, I am not of course able to state precisely; but for the honor of England I am anxious to believe, that her policy was of foreign extraction. The Swedish government, at the time at least, took great pains to induce such a belief, claiming indeed, very unreservedly, great part, if not the whole, of the merit of that unrivalled exploit: for some credit on that account was generally imagined to be due to a noted French politician, who has since been sent to his account,

"With all his imperfections on his head,"

as abruptly, yet perhaps still more awfully than the hapless beings at Copenhagen, who fell victims to those suggestions, which he was understood to have had the address of engrafting but too successfully on British councils.

What was at that moment the conduct of the "magnanimous hero of the North,"—"the Swedish liberator of Europe,"—"the real opposer of Buonaparte," as Gustavus Adolphus was then styled by those who have since transferred their hopes and admiration to an upstart general of Buonaparte?

If a transcendant genius and distinguished patriot, a brother politician but rival bard to the poet-laureat, had not gloried in the sight, when

"A royal city, tower, and spire,
Redden'd the midnight sky with fire,
While shouting crows her navy bore
Triumphant to the victor shore,"²

I might have left unnoticed the ecstatic delight with which the

¹ Réflexions, &c. page 11.

² Walter Scott's Marmion, page 160.

mad King of Sweden beheld the deadly conflagration of Copenhagen. Such a sight, I confess, would of itself be sufficient to shake the strongest head of a rival king, who would thus in vision believe his most favorite project accomplished : for with the fleet of Denmark fell what was in former times the main support of Norway, when Denmark and Sweden were able to settle their disputes by themselves. Gustavus may therefore be excused for going to the nearest spot in his own dominions whence he could most conveniently witness the memorable transactions off Copenhagen in 1807. It was indeed but natural, that he who struck out the first thought ¹ of those proceedings should himself enjoy as much as he could, consistently with his personal safety, of the grand and imposing spectacle which Copenhagen at that moment exhibited. The ministers of a friendly power do not every day burn for stage effect a capital in alliance, merely to astonish people and look vigorous. And what they could do in peace, surely the King of Sweden might see in peace.

Less excusable, I fear, was that most religious king, who, I dare say in imitation of his great prototype, " did not imagine that there could be a system of morality for kings different from that for individuals," ² when he proposed to His Britannic Majesty's Ministers, as a very *honorable* mode of executing the convention for the evacuation of Zealand, that the army should pass over to Scania, and from thence again invade the island.

After these unequivocal demonstrations of neighbourly goodwill, Gustavus thought it expedient to issue a declaration of war, and commence operations against Norway, where he might probably have done the best thing he ever did or could do ; have fallen like Charles the Twelfth, if he could have stood like him.

Of his favorite project to conquer Zealand, it would be superfluous to speak, if it were not for the opportunity which is thus afforded of mentioning that His Britannic Majesty's Ministers resolutely prohibited the army of General Moore from embarking in a new attack on that island. " Where there is shame, there

¹ The late Mr. Windham assigned a reason for the expedition against Copenhagen in the following terms, according to his whimsical manner : " The King of Sweden beginning to despair of any supernatural assistance for the relief of Stralsund, and the British armament, however large, being inadequate for that purpose, luckily hit upon an expedient to afford ministers some recompense for the trouble they had been at in fitting out the expedition under Lord Cathcart. ' Why don't you go and take the Danish fleet ?' demanded the Swedish monarch. The boldness of the suggestion at first confounded ministers ; but, after some reflection, or at least scratching of heads, they replied, ' Faith ! an excellent thought of your Majesty. Well, in God's name, let us go and take the Danish fleet.'"

² Voltaire's History of Charles the Twelfth, page 49.

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may be virtue," says Dr. Johnson, and Ministers merit some praise at least for embracing, as it might seem, an opportunity of satisfying the world that they were conscious of having done quite enough to imitate Buonaparte.

Of the policy pursued towards Denmark by the actual though not ostensible successor to Gustavus, General Bernadotte, it is but justice to say, that if it be impossible to love Sweden cordially but by cherishing a mortal hatred against Denmark, the Crown Prince of Sweden must be allowed to have reached the acme of patriotic perfection.

The ministers of this country may have had weighty reasons : the feelings of the majority ¹ of them, I fear, would alone be sufficient to prompt them to desire that the Danish government should be placed decidedly in the wrong in the judgment of the Parliament and the people. Now, for the accomplishment of a purpose, which on financial grounds alone might be deemed highly desirable, an abler and a fitter instrument could not have been found than Jean Baptiste Bernadotte. Macbeth himself would have acknowledged that he occupied

" A station in the file,
Not in the worst rank of manhood."

We need only refer to his former situation in life, to the intimate connexion which, as the commander in chief of the French army in Holstein, he must have maintained with the Danish government, to the consequent opportunities he may have had of diving into the heart's core of his Danish Majesty, aye, into his heart of hearts ; we need merely reflect on what fell from the advocates ² of the expedition against Copenhagen on the subject of the share which this very same Bernadotte was thought to have had in the maritime designs at one time stated to have been entertained against this country by means of Denmark—a man whom they were then reviling in the most cutting terms of reproach, but whom they now praise and support, though he is deservedly tot-

¹ A most pleasing exception is to be made in favor of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The unwearied efforts of Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Vansittart, in the first instance, to render justice to Denmark, or at least to obtain some pledge to that effect, are so well known in both countries, that I need not say any thing on the subject. But gratitude, rising from various sources, towards those distinguished and most amiable characters, demands that I should raise my voice, however feeble, in praise and admiration of the generous interest which they have at all times, in and out of office, taken in objects connected with the honor, happiness, and welfare of Denmark.

² The speech of the Right Hon. Charles Yorke on the expedition against Copenhagen.

tering on that eminence which he has hitherto occupied, to at least a negative and partial accomplishment of the services he undertook to render Europe; and we may be justified in concluding, that, as he has had it in his power, he has not labored under any lack of inclination to perform those kinds of political labor, which is but too generally deemed of the greatest value among statesmen. Ministers will sometimes indulge in speculations which contradict, as Mr. Burke¹ expresses himself, or even detract from, the efficacy of that character, which they ought to preserve as the trustees, advocates, attorneys, and stewards of their King and country. And those, who directed the notable expedition against Copenhagen, may perhaps have been so far influenced by their individual feelings and opinions as to deem it right, however morally or politically wrong and inexpedient, to prevent Denmark, as far as their wisdom and power could extend, from ever after rendering herself obnoxious to similar suspicion. The state-inquisition of Venice invariably put those to death who had been accused and pronounced guiltless, lest they should attempt to revenge themselves. Nevertheless, I trust that the moment will arrive, and speedily too, which shall expose the folly and danger of that policy, by which England has been prevented from rendering justice to a people closely allied to her by a common descent, by a similarity of language, manners, and morals, and by a most obvious identity of interests; while her honor has been outraged by refusing that to the much injured and insulted nephew of her venerable sovereign, which has been gratuitously conferred on one with whom the good old King of England would perhaps have felt an insuperable reluctance to have held any intercourse.

The attack on Norway will, it is to be hoped, prove the climacteric of all the aggressions and successful intrigues of which the Swedish cabinet, especially under the auspices of Bernadotte, has been guilty towards Denmark. It will at least, it may be confidently anticipated, furnish that distinguished commander with an opportunity of repairing the personal loss, which, on the authority of Sir Robert Wilson,² he sustained at the battle of Eylau. Perhaps, for the honor of the glorious cause in which he had latterly the amazing good fortune to be employed, he may at the same time satisfy the world, that he was at least able, if he had been so inclined, to do what might have been expected from his talents and political conversion. Such information will at least be acceptable to the nation in whose pay he has had the honor of marching a Swedish army from Stralsund to Liege and back to

¹ Burke's Works, vol. vii. page 63, *Thoughts on French Affairs*.

² Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in 1806 and 1807, page 106.

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the Baltic, losing by the way about 100 men in killed, wounded, and missing; and acquiring for himself an enviable opportunity of sacrificing his private feelings to an heroic sense of higher duties; however much it is to be regretted, that such an opportunity was afforded him by a man of honor like Sir Charles Stewart.

Against such a ruler,

That's not the twentieth part the tythe
Of their precedent Lord:

can it for a moment be doubted, that the Norwegians will not or ought not to oppose all the resistance, which can be suggested by an ancient and devout sense of duty to that line of kings under whom their country has enjoyed more freedom and as much *real happiness* as perhaps has fallen to the lot of any people in the civilized world? Most certainly not. To form a different supposition would be highly injurious, not only to the Norwegians, but to human nature itself.

On a question like the present, I am however conscious that too many proofs cannot be advanced, and since the Bernadotte party have succeeded in covering a worthy member of the Prince Regent's cabinet with a good deal of ridicule, and I fear some contempt, by rendering him the vehicle of some of the most arrant nonsense that ever was uttered in a British House of Parliament, I am anxious to give that Noble Lord (Earl Harrowby) an opportunity of cautioning the individuals in question not to practise too much on good nature and credulity; to which his Lordship might add the threat, that if they continue to furnish him with such information relative to the Danish government, he will for the future simply consult Lord Molesworth. My Lord Harrowby gravely stated in the upper house, that the Norwegians would be transferred from an absolute to a free government. Now, since his Lordship, I am persuaded, possesses so much political acumen and candor as to admit, that a people may enjoy a great deal of liberty on paper and very little in fact, he will, I doubt not, give credence to some proofs which I shall bring forward in support of the assertion, that the Norwegians have, to all intents and purposes, been a free people. These proofs I draw, not from the honied statements of prosperous courtiers, not from the partial assertions of timid placemen, or from the agreeable communications of scribblers, who wrote for title or office. I draw the proofs from testimonies given at different periods by men far above the slightest suspicion of undue motives, especially in regard to their relations with the court of Denmark. The first of the writers,

whom I shall quote, might state what he had to say respecting Norway, in a manner rather agreeable to the court of Denmark; but still he would not suppress or disguise the truth. The next indeed apologizes in his preface for having stated his sentiments with a degree of frankness, which at times borders too closely on a want of modesty, and which he ascribes to that happy independence, in which he has always lived. This gentleman must therefore be supposed to have paid no particular attention to the manner in which he conveyed his matter. As for the third writer, he is exactly in the predicament of the poet who thus sings of his muse :

“ Thou source of all my bliss and all my woe,
Who found'st me poor at first, and keep'st me so : ”

and may justly appropriate Gray's sentiments of himself,

“ Too poor for a bribe, and too proud to importune,
He had not the method of making his fortune.”

This gentleman is a vicar in some obscure part of the diocese of Bergen, and it may be truly affirmed of him that his head never ached for a mitre.

The first of those writers remarks,¹ “ The greatest part of our commerce and shipping was carried on with or employed by England. Every sailor and peasant along our coasts spoke English. Our clothes, food, and drink, were English, and the prevailing tone among us was English in a high degree. But notwithstanding all that, those of the Norwegians who remained unmixed and undebauched were at all times eminently devoted to their King and his line; they are a valiant, frugal, noble, magnanimous, and patient race of men, and especially during this war have proved themselves worthy of the peculiar care and parental love of their king.”

The second author observes,² “ The bright path of liberty conducts the Norwegian nation to prosperity and intellectual improvement, and preserves this region from that ignorance and stupor in which slavish countries are immersed.” In another place this excellent and intrepid writer says, “ The Norwegian nation has, ever since the union, evinced an unalterable attachment to the Danish government.”

In a beautiful lyric poem, dedicated to the present King of Denmark, then Prince Royal, and entitled the Prospect, the prince

¹ What ought the Nation to wish, either War or Peace with England? by W. Sebbelov. Christiansand, 1810. Page 40.

² Patriotic Ideas, by Jacob All, junior, of Næss Iron-works. Christiansand, 1800. Pages 40. 103.

is addressed in behalf of Norway by Themis, the Muses, &c. and lastly by the Goddess of Liberty, who thus announces herself : “ Prince ! Freedom is my name ; in this region my temple stands. —I render Norway happy ; to me she is indebted for her virtue and glory ; but to thee thy Norwegians will be indebted for me.”¹

Hence I am persuaded, that every truly loyal being must, in mind and heart, sincerely approve and applaud the heroic resolution of the Norwegians not to surrender their country to the dominion of a man, whose power originated like that of his fallen patron, was fed and strengthened by the same resources, and which, if finally consolidated, will stand in awful grandeur on the wreck of public principles, which have been alternately rejected and adopted as interest and ambition might direct. That the Norwegians may never acknowledge the ascendancy of such a man and such a rule, I most fervently pray, “ Forbid it God, forbid it man !”

If we inquire how far the sacred flame of patriotism may have kindled the glorious resistance of the Norwegians, we shall discover the most noble and spirit-stirring impulse.

The attempt on the part of Sweden to subjugate Norway is no novelty ; but it has always been repelled with a degree of courage, firmness, and unity, by which the national character of the Norwegians has acquired a stamp of superiority, to which the Swedes have always been in the habit of paying that respect which they will scarcely venture to refuse, though their army now possesses the experience—*risum teneatis amici*—“ qu’elle a acquise dans la guerre d’Allemagne, sous la conduite d’un chef tel que la Prince Royal de Suede,”² who may probably once more verify the famous lines :

“ The man, who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day ;
But he that is in battle slain,
Will never rise to fight again.”

All Norway, it is well known, abounds with simple, artless memorials, called Bautasteene, erected to perpetuate the defeats of the Swedes. Some of these monuments, for instance a pyramid of Norwegian marble twenty feet high, with an inscription commemorative of the death of Charles the Twelfth, erected by Frederick the Fourth near the fortress of Fredericksteen, where the Swedish king was killed, have been removed, with what some would call a laudable, and others perhaps a fastidious and a thankless desire, on the part of the Danish government, to allay the national irritation of both countries. This kind and conciliatory

¹ Poems by the Rev. Mr. Zetlitz. Copenhagen, 1789. Page 182.

² Réflexions, &c. page 17.

attention to the feelings of Sweden, it is, however, evident, has produced no corresponding effect on the government of that country, whose happiness and glory will never be fully established until it shall be able to exclaim, "Denmark is no more!" and, from its natural disposition to mischief, not even then, I am persuaded. The effect originally intended to be produced on the population of Norway, by the erection of those memorials, has, however, in no degree been impaired, for the deeds, which called forth those public expressions of admiration and gratitude, have been preserved by less perishable means. The Norwegian Muse particularly delights in rehearsing the valorous achievements of the nation, though, in fact, no people can possibly be of a more quiet and peaceable disposition. But no sooner does the glaring *Baune** announce from the summits of the hills the approach of public danger, than the *scytale* of the Grecians, and, as the Norwegians term it, *Budstikken*, is dispatched from place to place with a zeal which must indeed be the best bulwark of any country. The phrase "A nation in arms," can of course only be applied in very few cases indeed; but of these cases Norway presents one, and I glory in adding, one of the most gratifying that can be imagined. Here is a people, in every political point of view, with reference to the past, present, and future interests of Europe, standing most perfectly on the defensive. It simply desires to be, what it always has been, independent. The declaration of this wish is the free, clear, and spontaneous will of the nation itself. Not a voice is raised in favor of submission to Sweden in any part of the country, from the Naze to the North Cape, from Cape Stat to the hills, which form *a natural barrier between the two countries*. (I copy the poor old King of Sweden's own words in one of his proclamations to the Norwegians.) All hearts and all hands are most firmly united in supporting the country in the just, necessary, and glorious struggle, which the arts and the arms of the enemy have provoked. No propositions for a parley with him are made, or even thought of, after his inexorable purpose has been fully developed and ascertained. The people have most solemnly determined to stand or fall with the independence of their country. Is not this a sight which

"With pleasure Heaven itself surveys!"

a nation struggling to offer the last sad mark of its fidelity and affection towards a kindred king and people, from whom it has been torn by every, the boldest, means that fraud or force could sup-

* Wood raised in form of a cone on the tops of the hills, and set on fire in case of invasion.

ply, while in the course of this most unprecedented and ungracious proceeding, it has itself been exposed to injuries, insults, and sufferings of a description, that has harrowed up the souls of the most obdurate, selfish and thoughtless.

From such a display of national zeal and vigor, Norway may confidently anticipate the most beneficial consequences; she may expect to become what she deserves to be, in the words of the much lamented predecessor of the Crown Prince of Sweden, a *happy, strong, independent and invincible country*.¹ In addition to her own efforts, she is blessed with the hearty good wishes of all mankind. Her cause is deeply rooted in the kindest affections of our hearts; it is sanctioned by the unerring decisions of our consciences. Even Bernadotte, while he is craving, and oh! what wonderful complaisance! is permitted to take "the penalty and forfeit of his bond," must be conscious, that the feelings and impressions of all the world are against him, if Shylock-like, he be not altogether destitute of the milk of human kindness. But perhaps he has been allowed to proceed to the execution of his fell purpose, only to sustain the more bitter disappointment in the failure of his awful scheme. Some Portia may step in, and Norway will prevail. Perhaps it is ordained, that the last efforts of continental oppression should be discomfited on freedom's favorite soil.

A mountainous country like Norway is not easily conquered, because under all circumstances, even the most adverse, it is full of resources. Of these, the first is unquestionably the spirit of the people, which will never be subdued. What their ancestors did on similar occasions, the present Norwegians are as able and as willing to repeat. Since the key to Norway was not given up to Charles the Twelfth, as the price of safety to the town below the fortress, it will hardly be presented now to Charles the Fourteenth. Some new Peter Colbioernsen will give full scope to the utmost efforts of Norwegian valor and firmness, by inspiring the citizens of Fredericks-hald to set an example of patriotism similar to that which was exhibited at that place about a hundred years ago.²

¹ The fare-well Address of Prince Christian August to the Norwegians. Christiania, 30th December, 1809.

² "Notwithstanding Charles the Twelfth was thus become master of the town of Fredericks-hald the inhabitants did not acknowledge his authority. Some of them retired to the fort, and others went on board the prame, or hid themselves in the mountains. From all quarters a constant fire was kept up on the town; especially from the fort, to expel the enemy, lest protected by the houses, his attack on the fort might be more tremendous. A few hours after the capture of the town, Charles sent a trumpeter to the fort to solicit a truce, who was sent back with this answer: "His Swedish

New Lagertha's¹ and Anna Colbioernsens² will not only cheer the manly hearts of their gallant countrymen in the defence of their homes, their wives, and their babes, but in imitation of those matchless heroines, share in the toils, the dangers, and the anxieties of the sacred cause. The scene of Thermopylae will be acted again and again in the passes of Norway. The Swedes will

Majesty being an uninvited guest, it is our duty to send him whence he came." The fidelity with which they meant to keep their promise was soon evident to Charles, for when they found it impossible to dislodge their enemy by the mere execution of cannon, they desperately set fire to the town. One of the most uncommon scenes now took place ever recorded in history. The citizens eagerly hastened to fire their own houses, while the enemy in vain sought to extinguish the increasing flames. This scene of horror was considerably augmented by the artillery from the fort and the prame. Charles the Twelfth, whom nature had endowed with an invincible spirit, strengthened by a familiarity with danger, stood appalled at this extraordinary spectacle, and left the town that very day."

Great and Good Deeds of Danes, Norwegians and Holsteinians, by Ove Malling. page 66.

¹ "Lagertha, a young Norwegian woman, displayed uncommon personal courage in the war which Regner Lodbrok, King of Norway, waged against Fro, King of Sweden. Her valour contributed essentially to the overthrow of the Swedish Monarch, but her charms conquered the conqueror. Regner saw and loved her; he felt his happiness depended solely on her, and ultimately obtained the interesting object of his wishes."

Same Book, page 30.

² Mr. Malling, page 103, under the head of Intrepidity, gives a most interesting account of the conduct of that celebrated woman during the invasion of Norway by Charles the Twelfth, in the year 1716, of which I can only give an outline in this place. Mrs. Anna Colbioernsen was the wife of a Norwegian Clergyman. By her wonderful address she not only proved the instrument of preserving a detachment of Norwegian dragoons who had been stationed to watch the motions of the enemy, of whom a body of horse 800 strong were on the march to attack Konigsberg; but actually contributed most essentially to the overthrow and dispersion of that Swedish division, whose Commander, Colonel Loeven, was taken prisoner at Mrs. Colbioernsen's house. After the action she was placed in imminent personal danger, from which she rescued herself with uncommon presence of mind. She went out in company with another woman to view the field of battle, when a party of Swedish horsemen coming up to them, a corporal pointed a carbine at Mrs. Colbioernsen's breast and demanded information relative to the Norwegians. Her companion fainted away, but Mrs. C. boldly asked, "Is it the order of your King to shoot old women?" when the Corporal, feeling abashed, removed his carbine, but persisted in his questions, and received such answers as led to the precipitate retreat of all the Swedes, who were still able to save themselves by flight. On that occasion, she likewise exhibited a most striking instance of that independent manner of thinking and acting which is so congenial to all classes of the Norwegian People. On the day succeeding the victory, she gave an entertainment to the Norwegian Officers, and placed Thore Hovland, a Quarter-master of dragoons, at the head of the table, observing, that it was, "an honor assuredly his due, for having led his countrymen into danger, and been most conspicuous in crowning them with glory."

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not have forced one strait or stormed a summit, before they will perceive the immediate necessity of forcing and storming others. They will find every hill a fortress, every path a road to destruction, every tree a messenger of death. French tactics, however consummate, will be of no avail; there will be still less employment for Gallo-Swedish politics—the quintessence of all politics. There are no *dulcia vitia* of a corrupt court to tamper with, no blunders of a feeble cabinet to take advantage of, no Macks to meet in the field, no foreign troops to be seduced, no coteries to be operated upon, no divisions to be effected among the people. The most active members of the Crown Prince's army in Germany, Mr. Schlegel, the compositors, pressmen, and their devils, will eat the bread of idleness in the camp Printing-Office, from which their master carried on such a desolating war against Bonaparte; and the Hero of Ponto Corvo himself will probably after a short trial not at all relish campaigning in Norway, but perhaps feel induced to listen to the earnest entreaties, with which the good citizens of Stockholm may solicit his return to live over again the happy, merry days at Liege.

The land that gave birth to Admiral Tordenskiold¹ is not to be frightened or forced into submission to a race, whose ancestors trembled in their cradles at the bare name of a hero, whose spirit now appears to revisit the scenes of his deathless glory. In the words of a patriotic writer, it may be safely predicted, that, "while the Norwegians continue to preserve their ancient fidelity and firmness, that crown, which is the patrimony of Skoldunger,²

¹ Admiral Tordenskiold (Thunder-shield, a name most appropriately conferred on him by the King of Denmark in illustration of his public services) rose from obscurity to the rank of Vice-Admiral, before he was 28 years old. He was killed in a duel with a Swedish Colonel, Stael, (probably an ancestor of the most conspicuous family in the Bernadotte party) while he stopped at Hamburgh on a journey to visit His Majesty King George the First of England. To such a height of terrible fame had the exploits of Tordenskiold risen among the enemies of his country, that the women of Sweden actually employed his name to frighten children into good behaviour. It is particularly pleasing to add, that his descendants now worthily trace his illustrious course; they have already made a great number of valuable captures from the Swedes, among which is a large East Indiaman, probably the first that set sail under the auspices of the new political system of Sweden, so vehemently recommended by Madame Stael and Co. against their feelings and against their judgments, I should add, if I did not know, *Latet anguis in herba*.

² The Royal family of Denmark are at this day styled Skoldunger or offspring of Skold, who was according to Malling Pag. 29. the original founder of the Danish throne in the North. He attained the royal dignity, not only by exerting his valor in the service of his country against foreign enemies, but more particularly by promoting the internal welfare of his

shall never deck the audacious front of a foreign conqueror. Among the mountains of Norway, his ambition shall find a grave, and his presumptuous plans be frustrated by Norwegian valor, as the waves of the stormy ocean are repelled by the rock, whose natural strength defies their reiterated attacks."¹ Yes! under the guidance of the illustrious example furnished by the late Prince CHRISTIAN,² the present leader of the Norwegians will, in defence of the most honest cause for which the sword was ever drawn, satisfy the court of Sweden in its own words, that 'the strength of nations consists far less in masses of men or rich treasures than in the impulses, which are given to them by patriotism and military honor.'³

But methinks I hear the spirit of Shakspeare bemoaning the outrage which has been offered to his memory by that list of reckless resolute, who are headed by Bernadotte. It does not appear sufficient that they should have inherited from the founder of their fortunes a share of the properties of the rattlesnake,⁴ quite ade-

people. He abhorred slavery, and caused it to be abolished, and the victims of misfortune always found in him a real friend. His warriors delighted in serving him, for he distributed the whole of the booty among them, saying: "The prize money belongs to the soldiers; the glory is the reward of their chiefs."

¹ Some remarks occasioned by the political relations at present subsisting between Norway and Sweden. By B. H. Munthe Morgenstierne Christiania, 1813. Pag. 9.

² Late Stadholder of Norway, who was called in the year 1809 to inherit the Crown of Sweden it would almost appear, for having successfully thwarted her views on Norway. This unfortunate and much lamented Prince died very suddenly in Sweden, and was succeeded by Bernadotte.

³ Appeal to the Nations of Europe, Pag. 42.

⁴ An ingenious and most impressive comparison between the faculties of Buonaparte and the Rattle-snake will be found in an excellent pamphlet entitled, "The dangers of the country" published some years ago and now out of print. It is much to be regretted, that the learned author did not in his speech on the Blockade of Norway perceive the probability that the people of that country might as justly view the effects of Swedish invasion with the same dread and horror, which he rightly concludes, would be felt by the people of England in the contemplation of French invasion. The Norwegians are however obliged to Mr. Stephen for having done his utmost to satisfy them of the hopelessness of resistance; but they have too great respect for his talents not to be benefited by the glowing picture which he draws of the miseries of his own country, in case she had been subjected to a foreign yoke. As the author of another celebrated pamphlet, in which Mr. Stephen contends for doctrines, which in their application have proved subversive of the Danish monarchy, and in consequence productive of the evils, under which Norway now labors, he may probably think, that in offering him their thanks, the Norwegians carry on a kind of War in dis-

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quate to fascinate His Majesty the Emperor of Russia ; they must needs also impress into their hateful service a bard, whose name is coupled with the best feelings of the human heart. I need only propose, whether Shakspeare would have subscribed to such a scheme of human oppression as that put into practice against Norway by the court of Sweden, to be satisfied, that most Englishmen at least will agree in reprobation of the use made of his high authority for so iniquitous a purpose. Shakspeare, if he could not have served, would not at least have betrayed the cause of liberty ; but he is now, by a sad perversion of ingenuity, exhibited as a libeller of that cause. Accordingly he is sent forth by His Excellency the Swedish Ambassador and suite in the character of Prologue.

"For us, and for our tragedy !
Here stooping to your clemency,
We beg your hearing patiently."

ushering into the world their denunciation against the Norwegians under the safeguard of the following lines :

young Fortinbras,
Of unimproved mettle hot and full,
Hath in the skirts of NORWAY here and there,
Shark'd up a list of landless resolutees,
For food and diet, to some enterprize
That hath a stomach in't : which is no other
(As it doth well appear unto our state)
But to recover of us, by strong hand,
And terms compulsatory, those 'foresaid lands
So by his Cousin lost.—

For the honor of language uttered by Shakspeare, it will however be abundantly evident, that the motto in question is wholly inapplicable. Perhaps at this very moment the Swedes may be gathering useful experience relative to the qualities of the Prince and people, who intend to keep, not to recover, by strong hand, the 'foresaid lands, out of which the King of Denmark's cousin of Sweden might have managed to cozen the brave people of Norway, had they not risen to a man, and called in Prince Christian to frustrate the infamous project.

guise. But they do no such thing ; they simply wish to act agreeably to the ancient adage, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, and they do full justice to the motives by which he is influenced in desiring the speedy extinction of the flame which threatens to involve their country. An incendiary is often the first to cry, put out the fire.

¹ *Réflexions sur L'Etat actuel de la Norvege—a most tragical performance.* It is wisely printed in French.

By that act the Norwegians have most unquestionably consulted the honor and interests of their country in the only effectual manner, that could be devised. They at once set the seal of condemnation on the meditated transfer of the country and laid the firmest foundation for its independence. Any other mode of disposing of the supreme authority might not indeed have been attended with fatal consequences to the preservation of the country, for no opinion, too high, can be formed of the patriotism of the Norwegians. When the aggressions of Sweden are to be repelled, every Norwegian will do what Fabius did to Minucius. But the crisis into which Norway was thrown by the treaty of Kiel, inspired the people with the desire that a mortal blow should instantly be struck at the efforts of the Swedish government. Now this could never be aimed more unerringly than by the hand of a descendant and namesake of that great and good Christian, whose very name sounds like music to Norwegian ears. Nor is a more affecting instance of national gratitude and confidence to be met with in the annals of mankind, than when the people of Norway expressed the wish, that their country might continue to be ruled by that race of kings, whose gentle sway has for ages been productive of so much mutual happiness and satisfaction to the governing and the governed. How feelingly does His Norwegian Majesty explain the situation of the country at that momentous period in the following letter to the King of Sweden :

" Your Majesty will not ascribe it to any want of respect in me, that what I now communicate to you has been delayed longer than might seem proper. I could wish that this communication might be able to clear up every doubt, in relation both to my respectful sentiments towards you, and the motives of my actions. Though I am unable to employ for that purpose any other means than that which I now make use of, you will not wonder, that my pen, the only organ of my feelings, expresses them with all the frankness which I owe as well to your Majesty as to the cause which I defend.

" In communicating to your Majesty the proclamation of the 19th of February, I make you acquainted with the feelings, which inspire the people of Norway, as well as with the principles which shall always guide my conduct. The Norwegian nation is not of a disposition calmly to sacrifice its liberty and independence : there is only one voice among these mountaineers, namely to preserve their national honor. In vain should I have executed the treaty of Kiel ; in vain attempted to give up the fortresses to your Majesty's troops. The inevitable consequences of such an attempt would have been a general insurrection against the only authority,

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which could preserve a people, left to themselves, from the incalculable evils of anarchy. By such a mode of proceeding, I should instantly have lost the authority requisite to maintain order, and I should have deserved it, by deceiving the people in the good opinion, which they universally entertain of me, that I constantly aimed at their welfare, and at such a critical moment will prevent disorder. I had therefore no other choice than either the infamy of abandoning a people whose whole confidence is placed in me, or the duty of retaining for their good the authority which I had till then exercised."

What answer the King of Sweden may have returned to that frank and generous statement, has not transpired, but the sentiments which his dear adopted son entertains on the subject have been communicated to the world in one of those papers, which in former times paved the way for force of arms in the overthrow of kingdoms. Bernadotte's proclamation to his brethren in arms is drawn up in a strain which, with all honest men cannot be misinterpreted. To cajole and threaten, to smile and stab, to pray and blaspheme, to libel and praise, have too frequently been the burthen of such documents not to be understood by the more wary of those to whom they are addressed, but a glaring contradiction levels itself to the capacity of all: Thus while he rejoices, that the King of Sweden has saved his country from the misfortune of becoming a province of another kingdom, some may think, that he furnishes the Norwegians with an argument of which they will avail themselves rather than of his kind offices in making them friends of the Swedish nation. Mr. Schlegel after all, though a servant of Bernadotte, must possess some political integrity; he deserves to be thanked for giving official currency to sentiments, which his doating fostermother,¹ much to her honor, has taken an opportunity of expressing, though in direct opposition to the principles and feelings of that wretched and hateful faction, with which it is much to be regretted, that the first female writer of the age should ever have been connected.

The King of Norway will be too seriously occupied with the destiny of his country, to permit the personalities of such a man as Bernadotte to intrude into his thoughts. By advising Bernadotte to desist from a practice, which perhaps too much savours of his early pursuits and connexions at Caw and elsewhere, some service may be rendered him. His Royal Highness, who professes to be

¹ Individuals ought to submit to destiny; but nations never; for it is they who can alone command destiny; with a little more exertion of the will, misfortune would be conquered. *The submission of one people to another is contrary to nature.* Germany, by Mad. Staél, Preface, Pag. xiv.

a man of chivalry, should recollect that the great boast of polished life is the delicacy and even the generosity of its hostility. If he will take counsel from an enemy, he may rest assured that it will be particularly gratifying to the nation over which he has assumed the dominion, to perceive that he is anxious to accommodate himself to that superior style of manners, which is so prevalent in Sweden. It may be thought strange to give a Frenchman lessons on the art of pleasing, but it will be recollected, that Bernadotte is one of the nine tenths of Buonaparte's officers who have sprung from the ranks, and that his duties in the earlier part of his career probably almost wholly estranged him from the refinements and indulgences of polished intercourse. But he may now be said to have served "a seven years' apprenticeship to good breeding," and considering the kind of society in which he has of late moved, it is naturally to be desired for their sake, that he should at least write like a gentleman, though he may not otherwise be entitled to a favorable interpretation of the *Noscitur a sociis*.

But in the abuse of his enemies he may probably plead the *lex talionis*; and as far as that is directed against his English adversaries, I do not well see, I must confess, how he can be debarred from the benefit of the apology. By Sir Robert Wilson he has been proved to be unduly fond of his neighbour's goods, and not unlike Falstaff in point of courage.¹ Indeed in the latter respect, Sir Charles Stewart has put him to the test and expressed an opinion rather unfavorable, which Marshal Blucher, it seems, would be very happy to confirm; while Sir Philip Francis, and those who think with him, say 999 out of every thousand Englishmen are firmly persuaded that he has proved very like a traitor to the cause which he was engaged to support.

Now, although it is a fundamental principle of English law that an accused individual is to be presumed innocent until he is found guilty before a proper tribunal; yet as the aforementioned defendant Mr. Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, has contrived by means of divers quiddities to put off his trial, he cannot in reason blame the Norwegians for proceeding to the election of a ruler. The business of Norway was not to be at a stand, until it could be decided by others, (who by the bye have no *right* to vote on the question but what *might* gives them) that it was matter of perfect indifference whether a throne was filled by an acquitted felon or an unsuspected character. The Norwegians well knew that

¹ Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in 1806 and 1807; by Sir Robert Wilson, Pag. 85, and 106.

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other Sovereigns would vote against such a decision, and that the time was not gone by, when the then Count de Lille could say with as much propriety as ever, "It is more honorable to deserve than to carry a sceptre."¹ Bernadotte is therefore the last person, who should find fault with the Norwegians for giving the government of their country to the cousin of the King, who had lost the "foresaid lands," and who, whatever his political sins may be, has at least never shared in the plunder of Europe, but preserved that moral dignity in the circle of monarchies,² of which it might perhaps have been useful to remind the Russian Autocrator, had he not drunk too deeply of the waters of Abo.

Bernadotte's hirelings will not convince the world, certainly not Norway at least, that "le Prince Royal de Suede a toujours été l'ami et le défenseur de la liberté ; appelé à la succession au trône par une élection spontanée, il a conservé le même zèle pour cette belle cause, pour laquelle il a combattu avec tant de gloire."³ The beautiful cause of liberty, it is to be hoped, will not, for a long time to come at least, give employment to such friends and defenders as Murat, Bernadotte, &c., who have been so well characterised as retaining "all the leading features of their original department in life ;—a fierce and turbulent nature—a wild, irregular ambition—a total ignorance of the utility of civil laws—and a sovereign contempt for letters."⁴ A ruler of such a description may be foisted upon Sweden at the instigation of the hat, or French faction, which has so long "been her inbred pest and bosom destroyer ;"⁵ or he may even be spontaneously admitted by a nation, that has "long burned and languished in a feverish and oppressive state, which might be called the romance of her history and of her public councils."⁶ A military mountebank may make his fortune in a country where "the memory of the great Vasa, and the heroic madness of Charles XIII. have impressed upon the nation a kind of fond political credulity, of which it has been the character and the effect to be for ever engaged, and for ever straining and heaving under efforts and exertions too mighty for its strength." Such a

¹ Letter from Louis the 18th to the King of Spain on returning the insignia of the Golden Fleece, which had been conferred on Buonaparte.

² The Emperor of Russia's declaration of war against Great Britain, dated St. Petersburgh the 26th of October, 1807.

³ Réflexions, &c. p. 9.

⁴ Edinburgh Review, No. XXVI. for Jan. 1809, Art. Code de la Conscription, p. 453.

⁵ Considerations on the Relative State of Great Britain in May 1813, p. 92.

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popular disposition, such a man as Bernadotte, who, we are told, has carried chivalry "in republicanism as well as in royalty,"¹ and knight-errantry too, undoubtedly may be eminently qualified for humoring. But if Bernadotte tells the world, as he does in his farewell address at Lubeck, that "he cannot declare the freedom of Sweden to be firmly established, without making the Norwegians friends of the Swedes;" he wilfully and deliberately utters a double falsehood; first as it regards Sweden, and then as it concerns Norway. If Norway (which God forbid) should be subjugated by Sweden, Bernadotte, with a view to maintain military possession of that country, (for no other kind of possession can ever be contemplated,) will find it absolutely necessary to perpetuate in Sweden the establishment of the conscription, that infernal institution, as it is called by one of his own panegyrists, the editor of *The Times*; that code of hell, as it is termed by Monsieur Chateaubriand, who has just been appointed French Ambassador to Sweden. Has Bernadotte duly considered the effects likely to be produced on the freedom of his adopted country, and on the feelings and opinions of the world at large, by his devout anxiety to preserve, as a precious relique, one of the most detested parts of the Napoleon system? The subjugation of Norway, it is evident, must therefore directly tend to impair the freedom of Sweden. Bernadotte, it is true, may say to the Swedes as Charles XII. did; "I will send you one of my boots, and oblige you to receive orders from that;"² but we are told, "les Suédois sont jaloux de leurs droits;"³ and perhaps they may not chance to obey.

With respect to the endeavours made by him and his associates to make the Norwegians friends of the Swedish nation, he had better be silent. On that subject he can only claim the merit, (if merit it can be called,) that he has been led to form a just estimate of the Norwegian character, by directing the adoption of the only measures that could possibly hold out a chance of success in his horrid undertaking. But let him beware; even while he is whetting the knife to take his pound of flesh according to his bond, the victim may be snatched from his merciless power. The true cause of the permission given him to proceed thus far is perhaps nearer the point of development than he imagines.

I have now shown on what grounds the Norwegians decline the condescending offer of Bernadotte to resume his original occupation,⁴ for the purpose of drilling them into free and independent soldiers. Bernadotte, by the bye, should avoid using the terms

¹ Appeal to the Nations of Europe, p. 93.

² History of Charles XII. by Voltaire, p. 316.

³ Réflexions, p. 10.

⁴ A serjeant in the regiment de royal marine.

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free and independent, except when he may have occasion to apply them to himself individually and exclusively. His *amor sceleratus habendi* may be palliated, as the world goes; but let it not be indulged with the smile of benignity on his countenance, and the cant of philosophy on his tongue. He may injure a valiant people, who dare to vindicate their liberty, but he should not insult them.

I proceed to investigate the grounds on which the Swedish Government thinks itself entitled to require the acquiescence of the Norwegians in the annihilation of their national existence; and trust that the Court of Sweden will appear to all unprejudiced observers in the same amiable light in which it is fortunately viewed by the unsophisticated Norwegians. I could cite innumerable authorities, to prove that the Norwegians never can be amalgamated with the Swedes, nor ever acknowledge any arguments but those of force with a view to the establishment of Swedish supremacy in Norway. But in an appeal to the English nation, my purpose may be essentially served by referring to the concurring testimonies of those writers who, on political subjects especially, are well known to contend for the empire of criticism in this country. The Edinburgh Review thus expresses itself of the Norwegians: "There is something extremely pleasing in the Norwegian style of character. The Norwegian expresses firmness and elevation in all that he says or does. He has always been a free man; and you read his history in his looks. He is not apt, to be sure, to forgive his enemies; but he does not deserve any; for he is hospitable in the extreme, and prevents the needy in their wants. It is not possible for a writer of this country to speak ill of the Norwegians; for of all strangers, the people of Norway love and admire the British the most."¹ The Quarterly Review, by holding the same language, may be considered to have done the Norwegians a most essential service at a moment, when every British heart is bursting with indignation in anxious suspense for the result of the glorious struggle which the Norwegians are now supporting against what might be called fearful odds; but that he

"Who fights his country's battle,
Does in hi. bosom feel a golden omen
Of victory."

"Brave, honest, and intelligent, the Norwegians resemble the English in manners, in feeling, and in language, more than any people upon earth."² Thanks be to God that they do; otherwise

¹ No. IV. for July, 1803, Art. Catteau's Tableau des Etats Danois, p. 306.

² Quarterly Review, No. XXI. for April, 1814, Art. Travels through Norway, Lapland, &c. p. 123.

the feelings of the people of England would now have been infinitely more afflicted on account of the Norwegians. The sight of an ancient nation, generally esteemed and admired throughout the world, passing without remonstrance into a state of confirmed slavery, would have been more galling to the inhabitants of England than the predicament in which their government has been placed in regard to Norway. Against the voluntary immolation of the Norwegians at the shrine of despotism, the people of England could have no remedy; against a political *felo de se* of their ministers, they enjoy at least the privilege of animadversion. Accordingly, to use again the words of the Quarterly Review, "the tide of public opinion in this country certainly runs strongly against Bernadotte."¹ I trust the tide will roll on, gathering strength in its noble course, until it shall sweep away the last remains of those encroachments in which power, though on the most opposite pleas, has but too successfully indulged, at the expense of opinion. It is a great triumph to the cause of the Norwegians, that the people of England did not in their rapturous, but most natural and rational exultation, at the downfall of the most extensive system of despotism that was ever put in execution, overlook the establishment of tyranny, upon a small scale, at the very source of liberty. It is an event of immeasurable importance to the cause of freedom, that any dereliction of those principles, which have at last wrought the political salvation of Europe, is noticed and characterized as it deserves by the people of England, even though the transgressor should happen to be the most amiable of Emperors. Let us hence indulge the hope, that since a useful lesson has been given to future Lieutenants of Engineers of an aspiring disposition, it may not be wholly lost on ambitious Serjeants, who are still invested with regal power. In fact, Bernadotte would probably consult his personal interests most effectually by listening to the voice of the people of England on the subject of Norway: for he would then give the world an unequivocal proof of the uprightness of his motives in making so signal a sacrifice of private feeling to public virtue as he affects to have done. His views on Norway, even if they should be carried into effect to the utmost extent of his wishes, may aggrandize him personally, but, I am persuaded, for a very short time only; and, in regard to the interests of Sweden, it will soon be discovered that the French system of *arrondissements* contains the same seeds of self-destruction in the north, which occasioned its dissolution in the south.

In addition to the impressions which must naturally have struck deep root in the minds of the Norwegians, when they beheld their

precarious means of procuring the first necessities of life abridged in a most serious degree by a neighbour with whom they were at peace; when they found the principal support of their country, the commerce with England, gradually decrease, and finally altogether cease, entirely through the machinations of the same neighbour; and when, in such a state of public distress, they beheld themselves most basely assailed in the tenderest point—their national honor—the violation of which would, in the opinion of that great statesman Mr. Fox,¹ of itself form a just cause of war; in addition to those impressions, which cannot surely be deemed favorable to the Swedish Government, the Norwegians feel intimately persuaded that the genius and dispositions of that government are and must be hostile to the true interests of their country.

With a view to give some color to the magnanimous intentions of the Swedish Government in effecting the transfer of Norway from an absolute to a limited government, the people of this country have been favored with a French disquisition² on the superior benefits and charms of a free government, like that of Sweden, contrasted with the disadvantages and horrors of a despotic government like that of Denmark. In illustration of this, Molesworth is quoted, with much the same effect with which certain senators drew from him arguments in support of the necessity, justice, policy and propriety of the expedition against Copenhagen in 1807. We are at the same time told, that “le caractère personnel de leurs nouveaux Souverains doit inspirer aux Norvégiens une entière confiance en ces promesses. L'équité et la modération du Roi sont connues.”³

Of the moderation of his Swedish Majesty, a more striking proof is found than in his having lent his name to the design of Norway. That statement will be decisive.

As regard to his equity, I fear that he can justly claim very little credit for that quality, while his innocent grand-nephew, a descendant, as well as himself, of Gustavus Vasa, roams an exile among the mountains of Switzerland, like the illustrious founder of Swedish liberty, meditating, if not projecting, plans for the real interest of his country.⁴

As for the personal character of the Crown Prince,

Hic niger est: hunc tu, Norvege, caveto.

1 Speech on the occupation of Hanover by Prussia.

2 Réflexions, &c.

3 Réflexions, p. 9.

4 Accounts from Switzerland continually state, that the son of Gustavus will be placed on the throne of Sweden; and the intelligence is on every occasion repeated in the French papers, in a tone of rather ill omen to the hopes of “our much beloved son Oscar, Prince of Norway.”

Let us now contemplate the beauty and perfection of the Swedish Government, to which Bernadotte's scribes assure us the Norwegians will offer no other resistance, than the tears which young damsels shed at their marriage, although in secret they desire the connexion.¹

The Norwegians are an intelligent people. For this we have the authority of the Quarterly Review; in which the Bernadotte party, to their great surprise and mortification, will no longer behold a zealous friend, but almost a neutral, and perhaps a well-wisher to the gallant and free Norwegians.

Trifles light as air
Are to the jealous confirmations strong
As proofs of holy writ.

Now does the Swedish Government imagine that an intelligent people, like the Norwegians, would remain thoughtless spectators of the public transactions of a neighbour, against whom they have imbibed with their mother's milk the most rooted aversion; an aversion rendered still more rational by such considerations as must naturally have occurred to the Norwegians upon a view of the political convulsions in Sweden within the last forty years.

In 1772, the limited constitution of Sweden was entirely in the unlimited power of the aristocracy, whose tyranny Gustavus the Third successfully destroyed, as Paley observes, with the acquiescence, not to say the assistance, of the people, of whom, as well as of the nobility, the same king contrived to render himself altogether independent, at the diet in 1789. In 1792, this unambitious and unassuming uncle of the present moderate and equitable King of Sweden, suddenly dissolved the diet of Gefle, because it felt disinclined to support him in certain Quixotic military projects against Norway; and he was some time afterwards assassinated by one of his own subjects.

His son, Gustavus, the fourth Adolphus, evidently appeared to have inherited the despotic notions of Charles the Twelfth, who not only himself thought, but had actually made his subjects also believe, that they were born only to follow him to the field of battle.² How much Gustavus respected the Constitution of Sweden, may be seen from his conduct at Nordkioping, in 1800, where he ordered one of the partizans of the court to direct the spokesman of the peasants to declare, "The state consents." The secretary wrote as he was told, and the intimidated peasants held their tongues. This unconstitutional King was at last dethroned, after he had well nigh accomplished the ruin of his country.

¹ Réflexions, p. 13.

² Voltaire's History of Charles XII. p. 351.

He was succeeded by his loving uncle, his present Swedish Majesty, who will be ever distinguished in history for striking out a plan for the acquisition of Norway, which no common statesman would have ventured to conceive and execute. He adopted for his son, and heir to the Crown of Sweden, the bravest and most successful man that ever directed the efforts of the Norwegian nation against the restless and unprincipled designs of the Court of Sweden—the good and gallant Prince Christian. Whether this illustrious and unhappy Prince, on a nearer acquaintance with his Swedish Majesty, thought proper to remonstrate against the execution of a scheme, which from his knowledge of the Norwegians, he knew could not be accomplished; whether he was barely suspected of a disinclination to promote the annexation of Norway, which he was intimately persuaded the inhabitants of that country most sincerely deprecated, and would most strenuously resist; or whether he was found untractable in other respects, an end was put to the career of this most truly virtuous Prince before he had lived six months in his adopted country. The melancholy event gave rise to various events, from which the people of Norway drew the most afflicting conclusions in regard to the fate of their beloved Prince; but the Court of Sweden took the greatest pains to invalidate, and, if possible, to remove the impressions, to which it might otherwise have been obnoxious. At the funeral of the Prince, the inhabitants of Stockholm did not, however, appear satisfied with the attestations of the faculty; they "doubted some foul play;" knowing that the Prince was generally styled by the nobility "the Prince of the mob." In consequence, Count Fersen was dragged out of his carriage in the solemn procession, and murdered. A similar fate, it seems, was intended for a Countess, who now goes by the name of Signora Tofana; and a physician of the court, an Italian, of the name of Rossi, who was the body-physician of the late Prince, thought proper to leave off practising in Sweden. I have no hesitation to add, from my personal knowledge of the impressions which the death of Prince Christian, by whatever cause it may have been occasioned, produced among the Norwegians, that that event alone has in no small degree tended to arm the population of Norway against the pretensions of the Court of Sweden.

So much for the genius of the constitutional government of Sweden, especially when the chief magistrate thinks it his duty not to disregard the rights and feelings of the inferior orders. Now the Norwegians must be perfectly aware that that very indifferent defender of the beautiful cause of liberty, the present Crown Prince of Sweden, neither can, will, nor dares to pursue the line of public conduct adopted by his predecessor; and that he and his

government must therefore be perfectly unsuitable to their country. His friend Machiavel may tell him, besides, that it is a hopeless attempt to reduce to slavery a nation imbued with the spirit of freedom.

With respect to the dispositions of the Court of Sweden, there is but one opinion throughout Norway, and that opinion is founded on well attested knowledge of the ruling passion of that Court. So the cabinet of Sweden can but make a figure, it does not care if it be a ridiculous and a contemptible one. Perfect masters of the *ethics of vanity*, the statesmen of Sweden, in Burke's words, "exist by every thing which is spurious, fictitious, and false; by every thing which takes the man from his house, and sets him on a stage, which makes him up an artificial creature, with painted theoretic sentiments, fit to be seen by the glare of candle-light, and formed to be contemplated at a due distance."¹

It is a fact, at least it is boastingly asserted by Swedish diplomatists, that Sweden might at any time have recovered Finland by holding up her hand. But the dashing statesmen of Sweden did not think proper to gratify the anxious desire of the inhabitants of Finland to return to their former government; and entirely disregarded the national feelings of the Swedes, in behalf of the people of Finland, who universally detest the Russian Government, if the statements of Swedish diplomatists are to be credited. The Court of Sweden preferred acquiring a country, which, to use its own *magnanimous* and *philanthropic* language, will prove a burthen, to recovering a province which was the granary of the capital and great part of Sweden. In thus repudiating the people of Finland, the Court of Sweden has undoubtedly furnished a striking proof of the practical effects of the *philosophy of vanity*.

These transcendent politicians seem to have discovered, that the nearest and easiest road to Finland led through Norway. They imagine that if the military force of Norway be but at their perfect disposal, the loyal population of Finland will adopt the necessary means to project the deliverance of their country; and against that time the political tempests, which have just subsided, may again open new views, favorable to the restless ambition of a court confessedly the most troublesome and intermeddling in all Europe. The conquest of France in 1814, and more particularly the mercy shown to her, affords a fine field for speculation: on that subject, Bernadotte may perhaps feel some compunctionous visitings, which may be still more quickened by a sense of the invaluable friendship of the Sublime Porte; and he may probably, at

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. VI. p. 32. Letter to a Member of the National Assembly.

the end of a long soliloquy, make up his mind, that the preponderance of Russia has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. If Finland was too near Petersburgh, why may not Petersburgh be said to be too near Finland, (which the court of Sweden will never give up the hope of recovering), and would not the Emperor Alexander be more properly lodged in the sacred city of the antient Czars? Bernadotte in his heart thinks, that he has after all been but scurvily treated. The island of Guadaloupe, has been withheld from him rather ungraciously; and in the case of Norway, he bears some resemblance to a person who is allowed to keep the skin of the bear, which he must himself kill. It seems in fact, as if certain high contracting parties wished to turn out Bernadotte for a day's sport among the mountains of Norway, thereby insinuating, that if he has ever laughed in his sleeve at them, they are desirous of returning the compliment. Indeed, Bernadotte appears to have had great if not just cause of complaint, against some of the heads of the confederacy against Bonaparte. They either could not or would not treat him like a gentleman; of which various instances have been cited by his advocates, which leaves no doubt of his meekness so forcibly insisted on by Sir Charles Stewart. But Bernadotte, who might have sat for the picture of the Jew, which Shakspeare drew, will remember how he has been rated

"About his monies, and his usances."

His particular obligations to England, it will be observed, cease; and, considering the proverbial short memories of Princes, will probably be forgotten, the moment the Swedish flag is not necessary to protect the commerce of England. With the breaking up of the English colony at Gottenburgh, the praises so lavishly bestowed on this nation, by the Swedes, will no longer fill the columns of the News-papers. Things will revert to their ancient order. The political relations of Sweden, will be found to be what of necessity they must be, favorable to France, hostile to Russia, and by a natural consequence, inimical to England. Bernadotte will repair and adorn with fresh embellishments, the monument of the wisdom of the Empress Catharine, which her grandson has suffered to become as great a scandal as the declaration, whereby he solemnly pledged himself to restore it to its pristine strength and beauty. The asseverations of Bernadotte to promote the peace of the North, by raising fresh wars, and to consolidate the tranquillity of Europe, by giving rise to discussions, on which different sentiments must exist, will then be duly appreciated; and we shall see, what credit ought to have been given to those, who flattered themselves that they would be able to satisfy the honorable scruples of England, to lull her fears, and to impress the conviction, that her best interests

were essentially promoted by the annexation of Norway to Sweden.

With deference however to the Swedish Ambassador at this court, and the few—very few individuals indeed, who are of his way of thinking on the subject of Norway, very little credit will, I trust, appear to have been given to the statements of the merciless, presumptuous, and perhaps at this moment, I fondly hope, dis-appointed, enemies of Norway. Of this we shall perhaps soon be satisfied by *letters from Sweden, written in May*, advertising in no ambiguous or civil terms on the notorious inefficacy of the British blockade of Norway. For the rulers and politicians of Sweden can be as loud and as cutting in their strictures on the application of the naval power of England, if it be not conducive to their interest, as any other foreign government has ever been. Sweden has certainly been infinitely more furious both in actions and words than the Danish government, regarding the naval supremacy of England. Yet Bernadotte's advocates now unblushingly aver, that Denmark has been punished, solely because she did not drop in proper time the principles of the armed neutrality. Sweden, however, it seems, was better acquainted with the temper, spirit, and resources of England, and the humor of her government, than Denmark; and accordingly she is now assisted to reap in infamy what she has sown in iniquity.

It may not therefore be improper to show, how Sweden has formerly thought, felt, and acted, respecting the maritime rights of England.

In the noted cases of the two Swedish convoys condemned by England, Sweden sent one of the commanders to the scaffold, because he did not sufficiently dispute the *ultima ratio* of the King of England, for subjecting the Swedish vessels in question to an investigation before Sir William Scott. Sweden thus gave a pretty unequivocal proof of the sincerity of her inclination at least, to define the maritime rights of England.

Denmark never betrayed such violence of resentment; but it may be said it was only because she did not meet with a similar opportunity, and I am willing to allow the force of the objection. For whenever any thing like an insult was offered to the Royal flag of Denmark, its honor was always protected and asserted to the utmost, with that valor and skill, which perhaps in reality constituted the secret articles of Tilsit.

In 1800 Sweden raised an outcry against England, scarcely less violent than if her capital had been burnt, her navy carried off, and every one of her merchant ships swept from the ocean. Sir Thomas Louis, in the Minotaur, at that time cruizing in the Mediterranean, felt anxious to obtain possession of two Spanish vessels,

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which lay at Barcelona, laden with naval and military stores for South America. In consequence, the admiralty directed Captain Hillyer, of the Niger frigate, to take the necessary measures. The boats of the Niger were dispatched, and, meeting in the mouth of the harbour a light Swedish galliot, the British officer conceived, that from on board of his vessel this enterprise might be more effectually accomplished. He therefore represented to the Swedish Captain the state of the case, probably adducing some arguments which the Swedish Captain found absolutely irresistible. The English thus attacked the Spaniards, and carried them both off. No sooner was the transaction known in Sweden, than it became a subject of the most bitter and rancorous invective against England; not merely through the ordinary channels of official communication, but by means of the most vulgar and unworthy expedients, that could possibly be devised. The cabinet of Sweden, which cannot now find a single passage in the Law of Nations, to justify the Norwegians in defeating the stratagem attempted to be played off against them, then fulminated quotations from Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel, denouncing all the terrors of political vengeance against the British Ministry for sanctioning, or conniving at the act of a subaltern, who perhaps purchased the spotless character of the Swedish flag for a few guineas. For the main charge of the Swedish government, on that occasion, was founded in downright falsehood. No violence was offered to the Swedish Captain; nor did the English cover their intended attack on the Spaniards by a display of the Swedish flag. To prove the last assertion, I need only adopt the language of one of the English officers employed on the occasion, "We never fire a shot, but our enemies may see whence it comes."

The Swedish government, however, adduced the Barcelona business, as a particular ground for acceding with mad alacrity to the mad convention of the mad Emperor Paul.

But Sweden would of course behave more graciously to England, when this country poured forth her legions to defend, if not to aggrandize her, and when she diffused with a liberal hand the benefits of her friendship throughout all classes of Swedes from the King to the Dykker,¹ who casts an anxious eye over the ocean and fervently prays for a speedy abundance of wrecks!

Let us hear the words of an intelligent and very candid English traveller. "The Swedes ascribe to England alone all the outrages and losses sustained by them, since the conclusion of the alliance between the two powers."

¹ Dykkeriet is a very honorable and useful institution in Sweden, which provides for the legal plundering of wrecks. It is upon the whole a fine monument of the public morality of Sweden.

"This unreasonable, and I may almost say, ungrateful prejudice against us, has struck me as a very unamiable feature in the national character. It is the more so, as we have rather a greater partiality for the Swedes than for any other foreign nation, and as we have uniformly shewn every disposition to favor them."

"But they do not only wish to have no connexion with this country and sigh for their ancient alliance with France; they extend their hatred against us even to their own king and government."

Again, and even in a publication avowedly undertaken for the purpose of initiating the nations of Europe, in the arcana of the new political system which more particularly ought to unite England and Sweden, the latter takes an opportunity of chiding the former, and in terms which very nearly place the chief belligerents on a par in regard to their duties to the world at large. "If England sometimes handle neutrals roughly, Bonaparte never tolerates any whatever,"² says the ingenious Mr. Schlegel. I am rather surprised that some high-mettled tenant of Doctor's Commons, or Master in Chancery, has not taken up the gauntlet thus thrown, with what justice, it is not now my business to enquire.

But thus much is clear, that Sweden must and will prove a viper, which England may find some difficulty in shaking off; and that so far from deriving any return for past, present or future favors, the very weight of her benefactions may, perhaps at no great distance of time, only prove a plea for fresh demands, perhaps raised, that they might be refused. The history of the North furnishes a memorable instance, which Bernadotte may probably think eminently worthy of imitation. After the peace of Roeskilde, which was signed on the 26th of February, 1658, between Denmark and Sweden, the Kings of both countries repaired to the castle of Fredericksborg, in the island of Zealand, and passed some days together in feasting and rejoicings. The Queen of Denmark, Sophia Amelia, took the greatest pains to entertain the Swedish king with every degree of magnificence and pomp, which so joyous an occasion called for. But the very hospitalities and attention shewn him in Denmark, only tended to confirm Charles Gustavus in his predetermined purpose of breaking the peace, as soon as he had completed his preparations for war. For the Danish queen, though a woman of fine understanding, rather imprudently displayed all the riches and splendor of Fredericksborg, and the king

¹ Macdonald's Travels through Denmark and part of Sweden, during the winter and spring of 1809. Vol. 2, page 108.

² Appeal to the nations of Europe, page 64.

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of Sweden became so attached to the place, that he resolved to enjoy its charms more at ease¹ than he could do as a casual visitor. He accordingly soon returned to Fredericksborg in the character of master, and commenced leisurely an inspection, which but for a disastrous accident by sea might have yielded perhaps as handsome a sum to him as his illustrious successor, Bernadotte, would have netted from the sundry pieces of plate, candlesticks, &c. bearing the arms of almost all the states of Germany, had they not been rudely taken out of his trunks in Poland.

Now, although Bernadotte has not the benefit of a personal view of the splendor and riches of England; there is enough in his character and conduct as well as in the genius and dispositions of the cabinet over which he presides, to impress the Norwegians with just and serious fears relative to the future views of the Swedish government, especially with regard to England. A people who are nationally and individually distinguished by genuine simplicity of heart—that healing and cementing principle—may well dread subjection to rulers, who place their chief pride and a kind of demoniacal delight in refined policy, which, as Burke observes, “ever has been the parent of confusion; and ever will be so, as long as the world endures.”² Who will undertake to satisfy the Norwegians that their blood shall not be shed for objects, not only foreign, but absolutely injurious to them in every view of the subject? Nothing is naturally dreaded and deprecated so much by the Norwegians as a state of hostility with England; in fact the hope of precluding as far as lies in their power, the recurrence of war with England forms one of the principal features of the resistance made to Sweden. When the latter country shall have become perfect mistress of the Baltic, Bernadotte may think it highly expedient to throw out for consideration in certain quarters various queries, grounded on reflections like Burke’s. “I must fairly say, I dread our *own* power and our *own* ambition; I dread being too much dreaded. It is ridiculous to say, that we are not men; and that as men we shall never wish to aggrandize ourselves in some way or other. Can we say, that even at this very hour we are not invidiously aggrandized? We are already in possession of almost all the commerce of the world. Our empire in India is an awful thing. If we should come to be in a condition not only to have all this ascendant in commerce, but to be absolutely able, without the least controul, to hold the commerce of all other nations totally dependent on our good pleasure; we may say, that we shall not abuse this astonishing and unheard-of power. But

¹ Portrait of queen Sophia Amelia of Denmark. Historical works of N. D. Riegels, Vol. 1. page 287.

² Speech on conciliation with America. 3. Vol. page 31:

every other nation will think we shall abuse it. It is impossible but that sooner or later, this state of things must produce a combination against us which may end in our ruin." Indeed what man can be deemed more inclined to pursue objects inimical to the repose of mankind than the one who is raving and ranting about making the Norwegians free and independent soldiers, at a moment, when Europe prepares to turn the swords into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning hooks.

Let Bernadotte apply himself to the arts of peace, although he has arrived at an age, when a change of conduct may be supposed to be rather irksome and difficult. But really his own interests, not less than those of Sweden, require that he should abandon his infamous and quixotic attempt on Norway. The feeling of Europe as well as the immutable principles of right and justice are decidedly against him; and though he should acknowledge himself guilty of an error in judgment, let him console himself with the reflection, that strength is liable to error as well as weakness. He had infinitely better draw up a respectful and candid memorial to the Emperor Alexander, expressive of his regret at not having availed himself of his Imperial Majesty's most gracious offer to restore Finland to the Swedish crown, and thus declaratory of his anxiety to fulfil as speedily as possible those distinct promises to Sweden, relative to the restoration of Finland, which smoothed the way to his present elevation. Such an arrangement, (to the practicability of which Lord Holland alluded, in the most pointed terms, in the debate on the blockade of Norway), would prove the best pledge which Bernadotte could give of sincerely pacific sentiments. He probably long ago thought, that he had acquired trophies enough; let him prove himself anxious to deserve those honors of peace, to which nations and rulers can now, thank God, once more aspire. Instead of priding himself in having reduced one of the freest nations in Europe to slavery, let it be his boast, that he diffused the blessings of liberty to all classes of the nation, which he already rules.

In attempting to abolish the hardships and ignominy of vassalage, by which the peasantry in some of the most populous provinces of Sweden are oppressed, especially those that formerly belonged to Denmark, I am aware that Bernadotte might be some-what startled by a recollection of the hapless fate of his immediate predecessor.¹

¹ Burke's Works Vol. 7, page 189. Remarks on the policy of the Allies.

² When Bernadotte first landed in Sweden on his appointment to be Crown Prince, he was addressed by a deputation of the Nobility. In reply, he dwelt most pathetically on the lamentable fate of the former Crown Prince, and in pretty plain terms intimated that he should avoid following his steps. The hint has no doubt been mutually beneficial.

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For the aristocracy of Sweden is, I doubt not, an overmatch for him, at present; though he may flatter himself to be able by the subjugation of Norway, to gratify the ambition, humor the caprices, and supply the wants of all the noble drones in Sweden. Norway, it is true, is not exactly a land flowing with milk and honey. Still by the aristocracy of Sweden it is viewed, as if it were the land of promise, and thus it is more particularly incumbent on the Norwegians to resist the pretensions of Sweden. It is therefore to be ardently hoped, that Swedish nobility may be favored with a sight of Norway and no more.

After having sketched, though slightly and indistinctly, the noble and lofty grounds on which the Norwegians are prepared to oppose the pretensions of Sweden, it might seem beneath the dignity of the subject to consider what share a view of their interest may have had in the patriotic and courageous resolution of the Norwegians. But since the organ of Bernadotte thinks fit to assert, that "Il est clair que les intérêts des deux royaumes unis de la Scandinavie sont essentiellement les mêmes," it is necessary to observe, that far from that being the case, the interests of both kingdoms (Bernadotte will excuse me for not styling them *united*), are diametrically opposite. The products of both countries being just the same, they would both become commercial rivals; and Sweden possessing the power of regulating the concerns of both, she would not of course forget, that charity begins at home. I purposely abstain from pursuing any farther comparison of interest between two countries, which bear about as much resemblance to each other as the powers of light and darkness.

That the Swedish government must actually be a power of darkness, and that it has no notion whatever of the force which plain good intention possesses in the government of mankind, will be fully evident from the measures, which it has had recourse to and still pursues with a view to perplex and pervert the Norway question, chiefly for the sake of imposing upon the government and people of England.

"Le Prince Chrétien," says the most shameless of Bernadotte's advocates, "en anticipant sur les fonctions² de souverain, se donne l'air de nommer des ambassadeurs. On sait qu'il a envoyé un plénipotentiaire en Angleterre, pour disposer le gouvernement Britannique en sa faveur."

"Nous ignorons quels argumens ce nouveau diplomate aura employés pour plaider sa cause, mais on aurait pu lui répondre de la manière suivante; 'Quel motif si pressant vous porte à demander notre assistance, lorsque sans l'intervention de l'Angleterre vous êtes

* Réflexions, &c. page 10. ² Réflexions, page 13.

au moment de passer d'un régime absolu à un régime constitutionnel?"

Admitting, that this writer ought not to be deprived of the benefit of his plea of ignorance, for which in reality, I dare say, he will not thank me, I must beg leave to refer him to Vattel, where he discusses the nullity of treaties.

"A treaty made for an unjust and dishonest intention is absolutely null, nobody having a right to do what is contrary to the law of nature. Thus an offensive alliance made to ravage a nation from whom there has been no injury received, may, or rather ought, to be broken." Book II. ch. XII. § 161.

"We ought not to assist him, whose course is unjust, whether he be at war with one of our allies, or with another state: for this would be the same, as if we contracted an alliance for an unjust purpose which is not permitted. No one can be validly engaged to support injustice." § 168.

Now, from the reluctance uniformly shown by His Britannic Majesty's Ministers to countenance and sanction the infamous project of Sweden against Norway, had not the inhabitants of the latter country the clearest and most undoubted right to make a direct appeal to a government, so deeply interested—with reference to its own character and that of the nation, independently of other most weighty considerations—in annulling the proceeding against Norway?

The Norwegians knew, that restoration was the principle of the good cause, and they may have heard, that that principle was intended also to be applied in the case of Finland, which, on the authority of the writer whom I now refute (if he should happen to be, which I suspect, a Swedish diplomatist high in rank), Sweden might have recovered, agreeably to the spontaneous offer of the Emperor Alexander, who would be most properly addressed in behalf of Norway through the medium of England.

In appealing to England, the Norwegians confidently relied on the hearty good wishes of the people of this country; and in this respect their hopes have been fulfilled, perhaps, beyond the ardent expectations of the most sanguine.

They moreover anticipated the cordial aid of a certain class of men, who, from their unwearied efforts in the cause of humanity, from their universally acknowledged respectability, and from their presumed political independence, would, it was fondly hoped, have gladly stood forward to impel the wavering decisions of ministers in that direction, which would prove congenial to the feelings, principles, and prejudices of Englishmen. If the expectations of the Norwegians from the body alluded to have been grievously disappointed, it is however some consolation to know

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the cause to which the disappointment is to be attributed. *That cause is to be found in the machinations of Bernadotte's agents.* When the Norway question was first agitated in this country, it was, as Mr. Whitbread justly observed, very little understood: indeed the Norwegians must, I fear, be content to yield the palm of diplomacy to their opponents; but, thank God, they can afford to do it. Accordingly, the case of Norway became enveloped in a labyrinth of doubts, surmises, sly insinuations, and daring misrepresentations, which the good genius of Norway could not dispel, being then in imaginary league with Danish influence, that horrid phantom to some ministerial minds, which the Swedish ambassador here, with an address and ingenuity which would have done honor to Perillus, and Sir William Congreve, incessantly managed to conjure up; so that ministers and their immediate friends, and many other most excellent characters, would have been very glad to think as they felt in regard to Norway, neither could see nor even feel their way. But the Norwegian sword will probably by this time have cut the Gordian knot by which the honor of England has been linked to the infamy of Sweden; and the cause of Norway will, I am intimately persuaded, eventually behold in Mr. Wilberforce the same humane and zealous advocate, who successfully pleaded with the British Government for the sufferings of the poor starving Greenlanders, who has uniformly promoted the comforts of the Danish prisoners of war in England; and who has, in many other respects, exerted himself to lessen the evils of those measures of hostility, which, instead of not being carried beyond the limits of the necessity which produced them,¹ have ultimately terminated almost in the political annihilation of a kingdom, which did not at least provoke the war.

Indeed, every succeeding day affords fresh grounds for hoping that England will be able to terminate the long, eventful, and fatal drama of continental oppression in the only manner that it can be satisfactorily finished: for, while parallels to the aggressions of Buonaparte are to be found, the freedom and happiness of Europe cannot surely be said to be established on a firm and sound basis. Norway, in the possession of Sweden, would prove to future generations what Poland will, I trust, shortly cease to be to our age—a wretched monument of the abuse of power, in the erection of which the people of England, however, have had as little share as in the case of Poland. On the contrary, it may be safely affirmed, that their sentiments have been very accurately

¹ His Britannic Majesty's declaration against Denmark of the 25th of September, 1807.

stated in the protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords by their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lords Grey, Essex, Grenville, Rosslyn, Clifton, Fitzwilliam, Stanhope, and Lauderdale.

" 1. Because they considered the attempt to subjugate Norway to the crown of Sweden as a manifest violation of the sacred rights of national independence; and could not reconcile themselves to combat in this case the same principles, in defence of which His Majesty and his allies have in the case of the other nations of Europe so gloriously and successfully contended.

" 2. Because it was contended in debate, and to their apprehension not sufficiently answered, that, even if such an engagement could be considered as lawful, the conditions of the British treaty with Sweden had no view to the resistance of the people of Norway to the proposed cession of their country by Denmark, and did not bind England by any obligation of good faith to assist in reducing by force that unoffending and independent people.

" 3. Because they could not see, without the deepest regret, the employment of the British flag to inflict upon a people, whose friendship it is the natural policy of this country to cherish and cultivate, the dreadful calamities of famine, for the purpose of enforcing so odious and unjustifiable a project."

But, continues Bernadotte's advocate, in his queries to the Norwegian deputy, " Si vous aviez une si grande envie d'être indépendants, vous autres Norvégiens, pourquoi n'avez vous pas saisi l'époque où votre gouvernement vous opprimait en vous assujettissant au système continental, et en exposant vos côtes à être bloquées? Il y a trois ou quatre ans que votre cause aurait pu trouver de la faveur en Angleterre, car alors en vous aidant à vous détacher du Danemark, nous aurions affaibli un ennemi opiniâtre."

In refutation of charges of oppression on the part of the Danish government, it is only necessary to appeal to the experience of the Swedish government in all its attempts on the loyalty of the Norwegians. That experience is the ablest and most eloquent commentary on the political relations of Denmark and Norway. Truly, it is a singular way of conciliating the respect and confidence of the Norwegian people, by supposing them capable of throwing off their allegiance, at a period when they were overwhelmed by all the poignant sufferings and bitter regrets, of which the English attack on Copenhagen proved as copious a source in Norway as in Denmark.

As for the application of the continental system, and the blockade of the coasts of Norway, the writer in question has ventured to exercise that degree of hardihood which may be ex-

pected from a party whose favorite motto is, “*Audacter calumniare, semper aliquid haret.*” The truth is, that the gang of *Douaniers*, who either attended or were expected shortly to follow Bernadotte on his journey from France to Sweden, with a view to establish the Napoleon system of commercial *surveillance* in the north, would never have dared to touch the soil of Norway. The commercial intercourse between this country and Norway since the month of August 1809, and until it was interrupted by the machinations of Sweden, is a matter of too great notoriety to require any observations. The blockade of Norway, strictly speaking, ceased on the conclusion of peace between Denmark and Sweden in 1809; and I defy the calumniators of Norway to prove, that privateering out of the ports of that country was not put a stop to on the revival of trade with England. The merchants of Norway felt ashamed of committing any depredations (to use the technical phrase, when applied to captures not made by ourselves) on the commerce of England, the moment that Norway began to be benefited, though but partially, by an intercourse with England, which she of course regulated. I speak from personal observation when I assert, that in the numerous harbours on the whole range of coast from Frederickshald to Christiansand, in the summer of 1810, I only saw a solitary privateer; and I believe she was shortly afterwards put out of service.

With regard to the aid which Norway might or ought to have afforded England in subduing such an obstinate enemy as Denmark, it is scarcely worthy of any reply. Suffice it to observe, that the dismemberment of Denmark, and the destruction of a balance of naval power in the north, are not legitimate objects of English policy, which that great expositor, time, will not fail to illustrate.

To continue the queries to the Norwegian deputy:

“ Mais alors vous aimiez mieux armer en course contre nous, et vous enrichir comme les autres sujets Danois, des prises faites sur le commerce Britannique. Et à présent, pour récompense de ces hostilités, vous nous demandez de rompre nos engagements avec un état allié, et d'éviter un traité conclu sous notre influence ?”

Qu'y a-t-il à opposer à tout cela?

With reference to what I have already stated on the subject of Norwegian privateering, it certainly cannot be denied, that some merchants at Christiansand, particularly, may have gained a few per cents on the 47 ships and cargoes which were captured by the King's vessels in 1810. But on striking a balance, Norway will, I fear, be found to be a considerable loser by privateering, not because she had not the means, but because she wanted the inclination, to benefit herself by a system, by which other countries,

or, to be perfectly correct, certain classes of men in other countries, such as proctors, brokers, &c. had amassed princely fortunes at her expense. And there is no manner of doubt, that my Lord Liverpool cannot have known what he advanced in the debate on the blockade of Norway, when he asserted that "Norway had done England ten times more mischief than all the rest of the Danish dominions." This is absolutely unfounded in fact; and if the noble Lord's commercial friend, Mr. Rose, had been at his elbow, the greater part of the assertion, at least four fifths, would certainly have been explained away. But I most heartily concur in the sentiments of the noble Lord, that the withholding of naval supplies, and the great number of her harbours, gave Norway a power of molesting the trade of England; which Norway, however, by the admission of the noble Lord, did not exercise from any particular enmity on the part of the inhabitants. If that were the case when her fate was connected with that of Denmark, how much more will she be disposed, in a state of unqualified independence, to consult the interests of England. Will Norway, as a conquered province of Bernadotte's, be able to follow the bent of her own mind? Qu'y a-t-il à opposer à tout cela?

Truth, however, I am perfectly satisfied, is not the object of any inquiry set on foot by Bernadotte and his party; and if I shall be able, in conclusion, to impress the same conviction on my readers, I shall indulge the cheering hope, that I have not pleaded the great and glorious cause of Norway altogether in vain.

"Les habitans du bailliage de Drontheim, ceux des côtes et des frontiers et des frontières, ayant des vues plus étendues et reconnaissant les avantages des communications rétablies et multipliées par terre et par mer, sont pour la réunion," says the author of the *Reflexions, &c.*

It is somewhat remarkable, that an English publication, which from its congeniality of political views might have been supposed to be well inclined towards Sweden (as far as English writers can be deemed unfavorable to the cause of freedom), should have committed the egregious blunder of confusing the only writer¹ who has dared to make a regular attempt to bespeak some portion of favor to the unprincipled views of Sweden. The last number of the *Quarterly Review*, in a criticism of various works relative to Norway and the north of Europe, generally, has actually con-

¹ It deserves to be recorded, that the ministerial papers, in discussing the Norway question, have generally preserved a tone, from which it is obvious how unnatural it is for Englishmen to espouse the interests of tyranny. The Editor of the *Times* in particular deserves to be commended for not being base enough to take up the cause of Sweden, when he proved himself dastardly enough to abandon that of Norway.

victed the author of *Reflexions* either of consummate ignorance, or, which may perhaps flatter his vanity more, of a wilful disposition to conceal and pervert the truth. Happening to possess the original of Buch's work, from which the Quarterly Review introduces a passage on the patriotism of the inhabitants of Drontheim, I shall give the passage in question more fully, that the reader may be the better enabled to decide between the unbiased and unbought opinion of an impartial traveller, who is very generally commended for the acuteness and judiciousness of his remarks, and the bold speculations and unfounded statements of a party to whom truth

—“ is a monster of so frightful mien
As to be hated, needs but to be seen.”

Von Buch (p. 223, vol. i. of the German original) observes, “It must be allowed, that no part of Norway possesses a greater share of attachment to the country, true patriotism, and public spirit, than Drontheim. The inhabitants are nowhere capable of making greater sacrifices, and nowhere more ready to unite for any purpose beneficial to the country. But the causes may be easily traced. The patriotism of Drontheim is more centered in the country, and less exposed to be diverted. When Christiana sends boards and logs to England, and in return draws the means of good, comfortable, and even splendid subsistence, that part of Norway will naturally wish success to England, because business is done with her to advantage and satisfaction. Thus commerce extends the limits of the country, while it gives an enlarged scope to the feelings of interest. Bergen sends fish to Holland, and expects vegetables in return. The inhabitants of Bergen cannot therefore be indifferent to what is going on in Holland, and they have rather reason to wish that Holland may prosper than otherwise. But in Drontheim, on the contrary, those foreign relations are not so precisely defined; the views of the inhabitants are limited to their own country, in which they live quietly and securely; and every attempt to disturb their tranquillity rouses all the energies inherent in the impulse of self-defence against any foreign attacks that might endanger the safety of the country. Drontheim is distinguished by the patriotism and public spirit of an insulated republic; while Christiana is actuated by the views of an extensively connected trading town in a great monarchical state.”

So much for the lukewarmness of the brave inhabitants of Drontheim in the cause of their country, as Bernadotte's advocate would seem to insinuate. Now let us examine how the case stands with the Norwegians on the coasts and on the frontiers.

It is out of my power to express the admiration and joy with which I am penetrated while I contemplate this part of the Norway question. I here behold the surest pledge of the preservation of that noble country, not from subjection to Sweden, for an overwhelming hostile force may, perhaps, though I anxiously hope not, effect that abominable purpose; but Norway, thanks to Providence, thanks to the glorious feeling of liberty, and thanks to the wisdom of the immortal leader of the brave people of that much-injured country, is preserved from the disgrace of bartering away her independence. It is next to a miracle that the inclinations of the Swedish Cabinet did not, at least in part, undermine one of the chief supports of Norway. But the efforts of the Swedish Government have most unquestionably sustained a most serious, because perhaps rather an unexpected, repulse, when it was ascertained that Norway did not afford shelter to traitors, who

With dumb despair their country's wrongs behold,
And, dead to glory, only burn for gold.¹

The statesmen of Sweden may be said to have reckoned without their host, when they boldly imagined that a sense of the injuries which they have had the means of inflicting on the mercantile portion of the Norwegian people, however keen, would be speedily absorbed in fond anticipations of advantages that would immediately result from the union of both countries. Money, Bernadotte's advisers, judging rightly from their own case, would esteem the very sinews of war; but the reasoning proved fallacious, when an inference was to be applied to a people who fight for their national existence. Thus, if there were any individuals in Norway who had discovered that private happiness has but little dependence on the nature of the government; who might apprehend an alarming diminution of their fortunes, in the event of resistance to Sweden; and who would, in consequence, deem the situation of the country pregnant with danger, to an indulgence of that Epicurean and ignoble strain of sentiment from which they had derived so much satisfaction; if there have been some such individuals, we find that they have nobly sacrificed their own individual opinions, feelings, and habits, to the unbending purpose of the nation at large. It will be difficult for the Swedish Government to point out an inhabitant of Norway to whom Cowper's lines could be applied:

The man that is not moved with what he reads,
That takes not fire at their heroic deeds;
Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave.

¹ Palestine; an Oxford Prize Poem for 1803, by Reginald Heber, p. 77.

But the Swedish Government will probably give the Norwegians no further trouble. In fact, it appears to be flinching already.¹ Having fully succeeded, by its conduct towards Norway, to render itself odious to all the world, it now rapidly fills up the climax of its degradation by making itself quite ridiculous. The world smiled when his Majesty the late King of Rome was exhibited on the great stage of affairs to perform various feats, such as reviewing the troops, pulling off his hat most condescendingly, and telling the national guards at Paris, "Messieurs! the King of Rome salutes you," &c.; for it was rightly concluded that his father appeared to be conscious of the impending ruin of his tottering fortunes. May the world not be excused for laughing outright (if old age were not in the case) when Bernadotte threatens to open the attack on Norway with a sea fight, to be conducted by his poor old father, who has most graciously condescended to volunteer his services on the occasion. The boldness of the design is the more surprising, when it is considered that it is attempted in open defiance to the opinion of the ablest advocate Sweden has found in England. Mr. Canning obligingly told us, that ships could not scale the mountains of Norway: but however great the extent of his information may be, he does not appear to know what the King of Sweden, when fully habited in his admiral's uniform, booted and spurred, may attempt. I believe once in the Baltic, on a visit to Sir James Saumarez, he afforded the crew of the Victory a good deal of merriment; and I have no manner of doubt that the Norwegian sailors will be obliged for as much to his Swedish Majesty. But a recent occurrence has perhaps already opened another and a more congenial scene of enterprise to his Swedish Majesty's thirst for naval glory; the rather so, as his hopeful son may perhaps thus have another opportunity of making and receiving an overcharge for his services. The French papers, with a degree of effrontery exceedingly unseemly at this period, propose the extirpation of the states of Barbary as an object more worthy of Europe than the abolition of the slave-trade; and as Sweden has just been most grossly insulted by the Dey of Algiers,² Bernadotte is now exactly in the predicament of the dog in the fable, who held one piece of beef in his mouth and saw another in the water.

¹ The very last accounts from Sweden inform us, that Norway can only be conquered by famine; that great stores of provisions have been laid in; and that the fortresses are in the best state of defence, that of Frederikshald being impregnable. Sweden at the same time puts the significant question, "Will the Allies assist us in subduing Norway?"

² It is a most fortunate circumstance, that the Dey of Algiers has made free with some Danish ships also; otherwise Bernadotte would certainly accuse the King of Denmark of having commenced a friendship with that barbarian, in order to create a diversion in favor of Norway.

There can be little doubt that Sweden ought not to put up with the insolence of the Dey of Algiers; but the difficulty of resenting the affront will be materially increased by the necessity of making a show of doing something against Norway. In this dilemma, Bernadotte will perhaps most consult his honor by raising the blockade of Norway, to proceed with all possible speed to chastise the Dey of Algiers. And if in this also he should fail, let him be cheered by the consolation, that the Mediterranean possesses the most commodious and pleasant harbour, in which his shattered vessel could find safety.

By this time the British Government will have received, from a trustworthy and sagacious observer,¹ full and fair information relative to the state of Norway; and that information will, I am satisfied, greatly tend to raise the King and people of that country in the opinion of his Britannic Majesty's Ministers.

They will likewise have been put in possession of ample details of the proceedings of the Swedish Government; which, I venture to predict, will, in consequence, feel itself much lowered in the estimation of the Government of this country.

Thus his Britannic Majesty's Ministers will, I devoutly hope, be fully satisfied of the justice, propriety, and policy of acceding to the general wish of the English nation, by giving their powerful voice in favor of Norway. The cause of humanity, truth, virtue, and all that is honorable and gratifying to our nature, will, I doubt not, find England as ever, that

" Albion,—still prompt the captive's wrong to 'aid,
And wield in freedom's cause the freeman's generous blade."²

Should a different result attend the glorious struggle of Norway; the noble inhabitants of that country will not at least have cause to regret the part which with so great unanimity, firmness, and zeal, they determined to act. They will live or die in the hope, that their animating example may not be lost on posterity. For, as Locke expresses himself, " If God has taken away all means of seeking remedy, there is nothing left but patience. But my son, when able, may seek the relief of the law, which I am denied: He or his son may renew his appeal, till he recover his right. But the conquered, or their children, have no court, no arbitrator on earth to appeal to. Then they may appeal, as Jephtha did, to heaven, and repeat their appeal, till they have recovered the native right of their ancestors, which was to have such a legislative over them, as the majority should approve, and freely

¹ Mr. Morier, the English Commissioner to Norway, who returned to London on the 30th of July.

² Palestine; an Oxford Prize Poem, by Reginald Heber.

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acquiesce in. If it be objected, this would cause endless trouble; I answer, no more than justice does, where she lies open to all, that appeal to her. He that troubles his neighbour without a cause, is punished for it by the justice of the court he appeals to. And he that appeals to heaven, must be sure he has right on his side; and a right too, that is worth the trouble and cost of the appeal, as he will answer at a tribunal that cannot be deceived, and will be sure to retribute to every one according to the mischiefs he hath created to his fellow subjects; that is any part of mankind. From whence 'tis plain, that he that conquers in an unjust war, can thereby have no title to the subjection and obedience of the conquered." Locke's *Essay on Government*, Ch. xvi. §. 176. Pag. 304. Ed. 1698.

But I fondly cling to the hope that the high spirited and gallant people of Norway may themselves long enjoy, and hand down unimpaired to their latest posterity, the blessings and honors which may be anticipated from a successful issue of their just, necessary, and resolute struggle; for the physical strength of Norway can only give way to afford a more illustrious and affecting display of the workings of that moral power, which has been so finely described in the following lines :

Thus fought Britannia's sons;—but when o'erthrown,
More keen and fierce the flame of freedom shone :
Ye woods, whose cold and lengthen'd tracts of shade
Rose on the day, when sun and stars were made;
Waves of Lodore, that from the mountain's brow
Tumble your flood, and shake the vale below;
Majestic Skiddaw, round whose trackless steep
'Mid the bright sunshine darksome tempests sweep:
To you the patriot fled; his native land
He spurn'd, when proffer'd by a conqueror's hand;
In you to roam at large, to lay his head
On the bleak rock, unclad, inhous'd, unfed :
Hid in the aguish fen,¹ whole days to rest,
The numbing waters gather'd round his breast:
To see Despondence cloud each rising morn,
And dark Despair hang o'er the years unborn:
Yet here, ev'n here, he greatly dared to lie,
And drain the luscious dregs of liberty ;
Outcast of nature, fainting, wasted, wan,
To breathe an air his own, and live a man.²

¹ Many writers assert, that the Britons in their retreat would hide themselves in the bogs, up to their chins in water.—Dio Nicæus, &c.

² The *Aboriginal Britons*, an Oxford Prize Poem, for 1791, by George Richards, B. A. of Oriel College, p. 55.